Daily Report

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Yugoslavia

Federal—Prime Minister Milan Panic stated that he plans to go to the United Nations to request a lifting of UN sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia, TANJUG reports. He told an Italian newspaper that his government had removed "many obstacles in the way of erasing the sanctions," especially regarding peace efforts in the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Asked about recognition of the Republic of Croatia, Panic stated that his government was committed to peace and that "recognition of Croatia is a matter as vital as peace."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Budapest radio reports that the chief of staff of the Serb Army in Bosnia "has accused Austria and Hungary of illegal arms shipments," in a letter to the commander of the UN peacekeeping force. He allegedly has evidence that four ships, flying under the Hungarian flag, transported "weapons, surface-to-air missiles, and armored transport vehicles" from Vienna to Budapest. From there, the materiel was transported through Croatia to Bosnia for distribution to the Muslim army.

Bulgaria

In response to allegations in the press about illegal arms exports, the Iraqi Embassy in Sofia sent a letter to BTA in which it stated: "We officially declare that Iraq has neither signed an arms deal, nor has it received arms from any country." The Iraqi Embassy "claims that such reports are not serious, they aim to undermine Iraq's international reputation and are part of the ill-intentioned campaign against Iraq."

Poland

In a demonstration organized by the Warsaw chapter of Solidarity, "several thousand" members marched on parliament, the cabinet office, and the presidential residence, PAP reports. Warsaw Solidarity leader Maciej Jankowski stated that the purpose of the demonstration was to make both the public and the centers of power realize that "introducing a workable reform in this country is not possible without a coherent economic program, without the creation of a legal system, and without taking into account social costs."

Albania

A "high-level Bulgarian military delegation led by Defense Minister Aleksandur Staliyski" is making "a friendly and working visit," Tirana radio reports. In talks headed by Staliyski and Defense Minister Safet Zhulali, "both sides stressed the importance of increased cooperation and contacts in the military field," and the Bulgarian delegation noted that "good relations have existed between the two countries, but under present conditions, and as friendly Balkan countries, the Bulgarian Government seeks to strengthen these ties and is ready to assist the Albanian Army."

Meksi, Zhulali Receive Bulgarian Defense Minister

AU1409193892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Report by Zamira Koleci]

[Text] The high-level Bulgarian military delegation led by Defense Minister Aleksandur Staliyski, that arrived in our country for a friendly and working visit has continued its meetings with our officials. Following yesterday's meeting in Korce with General Lieutenant Ilia Vasho, chief of the Army Staff, the Bulgarian delegation conducted talks at the Ministry of Defense with an Albanian delegation headed by Defense Minister Safet Zhulali.

During the afternoon the Bulgarian delegation was received by Mr. Meksi, the prime minister.

Let us listen to our correspondent Zamira Koleci:

[Koleci] In the framework of intensive contacts held by our top Army cadres with their colleagues from other countries, a military delegation from the Republic of Bulgaria arrived last night in Tirana. The delegation is led by Defense Minister Aleksandur Staliyski.

This morning the Bulgarian guests went to the Martyrs' Cemetery in Tirana, paid homage, and laid a wreath. At 1100, talks began at the Defense Ministry between the two delegations headed by Defense Ministers Zhulali and Staliyski. Both sides stressed the importance of increased cooperation and contacts in the military field, as in all other fields. The Bulgarian minister invited his Albanian colleague to visit Bulgaria.

The talks lasted two hours and centered mainly on the efforts made by the two respective armies in implementing reforms. Mr. Zhulali pointed out the efforts made by his ministry to improve military legislation and to raise the combat-readiness of the Albanian Army. The two delegations discussed also their intent to integrate with NATO.

During the talks, the Bulgarian delegation stressed that good relations have existed between the two countries, but under present conditions, and as friendly Balkan countries, the Bulgarian Government seeks to strengthen these ties and is ready to assist the Albanian Army.

An agreement on the matters that were discussed will be signed during Mr. Zhulali's forthcoming visit to Bulgaria.

During the afternoon, the Bulgarian defense minister was received by Aleksander Meksi, the Albanian prime minister. Mr. Meksi expressed his satisfaction at the visit by the Bulgarian official as being beneficial to the consolidation of the ties and cooperation between the two countries in various fields.

Thanking Mr. Meksi for his hospitality, Mr. Staliyski conveyed to the Albanian prime minister the greetings of Bulgaria's prime minister. He stressed the importance of the development of bilateral relations.

Mr. Meksi and Mr. Staliyski also discussed other problems related to political developments in both countries, stressing the need to strengthen democracy and to eliminate all vestiges of communism in administrative structures, legislation, and even the psychology of people.

The meeting was also attended by Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali and the Bulgarian ambassador in Albania, Stefan Naumov.

Health Official: Pollution 'Embarrassing'

AU1209135892 Tirana ATA in English 0810 GMT 12 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 12 (ATA)—In an interview with the newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, the deputy minister of health and environmental protection, Besim Nuri, said among other things that the environmental pollution, particularly in the major cities, is a very embarrassing problem.

This situation, the deputy minister says, is inherited from the past. The lack of the means to gather the wastes, the numerous private constructions without criteria and permission in the center of the cities, the building wastes, etc., have led to such an environmental pollution. This unsatisfactory situation influences directly in the health of the population, in the spread of infective and parasitic diseases.

The interview points out that the draft law on the sanitary control, to be soon submitted to the government, is drafted. It envisages severe sanctions against infringers in down to penal prosecution.

Iraqi Embassy Denies Receiving Arms

AU1409204292 Sofia BTA in English
1816 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 14 (BTA)—"We officially declare that Iraq has neither signed an arms deal, nor has it received arms from any country, Bulgaria included," says a letter of the Iraqi Embassy in Sofia received at BTA.

In the letter, the Iraqi Embassy categorically denies allegations in the Bulgarian press about illegal arms export from Bulgaria to the amount of 15 million dollars, accompanied by forged documents identifying the Defense Ministry of the Philippines as the recipient. Reportedly, the arms were exported with the permission of the government commission controlling the production and trade in military and special-purpose products between December 1991 and March 1992. The Iraqi Embassy claims that such reports are not serious, they aim to undermine Iraq's international reputation and are part of the ill-intentioned campaign against Iraq.

Government Denies Restricting Yugoslav Entries

AU1509101492 Sofia BTA in English
1932 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 14 (BTA)—There are no restrictions on the entry of citizens of the former Yugoslavia into Bulgaria, the cabinet's Press Office told BTA, in response to reports on restrictions by several news agencies this afternoon.

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice Svetoslav Luchnikov told BTA that last week the cabinet discussed the visits to Bulgaria of citizens of the former Yugoslavia, who only come here to fill the petrol tanks of big cars. Mr. Luchnikov said the cabinet wanted to prevent the violation of the embargo rather than to discriminate against certain people. He added that the question had been discussed but no decision had been taken.

Accord on Fighting Drugs Signed With Germany

AU1409140092 Sofia BTA in English
1346 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 14 (BTA)—A Bulgarian-German Intergovernment Agreement on Cooperation in Organized Crime Control was signed here today by Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov and the German parliamentary secretary of state with the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Mr. Eduard Lintner.

The agreement aims to paralyse the Balkan drug-trafficking route, whose northern part, including Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia has been much in use following the outbreak of the Yugoslav war. Seventy percent of Europe's heroin supplies are carried through the Balkan route.

Apart from drug-trafficking, Bulgaria and Germany are expected to cooperate in combating terrorism and illegal emigration. A coordinating commission will be set up at the highest level and expert groups will be appointed. Exchange of information and expertise is also envisaged in the agreement. "Under the agreement, we will cooperate in the combating of practically all types of crime," the Bulgarian interior minister, Yordan Sokolov, said at a news conference. He emphasized that Bulgarian and German units have so far maintained good cooperation in the sphere of organized crime control. "This agreement marks a decisive step towards more effective cooperation in the combating of serious crimes," Mr. Eduard Lintner said.

Mr. Sokolov told the press he holds operative data concerning drug-producing countries which are trying to transfer their production centres to other countries, including Bulgaria. According to him, there is no narco-mafia in Bulgaria, but there are groups selling drugs at certain places, mostly in Sofia. The rate of drug abuse in Bulgaria has increased several-fold recently and prices are lower than in Western Europe.

Effects of Bundesbank Interest Rate Cut Evaluated

AU1509095092 Sofia BTA in English
0843 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Commentary by Iva Toncheva of BTA: "Bundesbank Decision Relieves Bulgaria's Foreign Debt Burden"]

[Text] Sofia, September 15 (BTA)—The Bundesbank decision yesterday to cut interest rates resulted in 500,000 dollars in profits for the National Bank of Bulgaria (BNB). The reduction of the Lombard rate from 9.75 to 9.50 per cent and of the discount rate from 8.75 to 8.25 per cent sent the dollar up in this country, too. The central dollar exchange rate rose by 0.06 leva today.

The better news for Bulgarians is that this country's enormous foreign debt burden has, though slightly, been alleviated. The abandonment of the rigid policy of high interest rates pursued by Germany since 1987 will have a beneficial effect on Bulgaria's liabilities to that country.

Bulgarian banking experts predict that the latest changes on the world's stock exchanges will probably cause a quick, yet short-lived rise in dollar demand in Bulgaria. Yet the dollar will soon steady at a lower level, they say. According to Mr. Georgi Mutafchiev, chief dealer at the central bank, the reduction of Bundesbank interest rates may have a more than beneficial effect on dollar owners here. Some banks' clients may have made a fortune following the dollar's leap upwards, he says in an interview for the KONTINENT newspaper. In his view, dollar sales will fall in the next few days in expectation of a higher exchange rate. Yet the rate will not go any higher up, the BNB chief dealer says.

According to Mr. Plamen Stoyanov of the First Finance and Brokerage House, the dollar may rise against the lev, yet no cataclysms in exchange rates should be expected.

Chief of Staff Refutes Defense Minister's Remarks

AU1509093792 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Sep 92 pp 1, 3

[Article by Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff: "The Army Cannot Live Without Its Officers and Without the People's Support"]

[Text] I venture once more to bother our public with my stand on a rather tiresome question. I can neither disregard nor remain passive in the face of accusations affecting my honor. I cannot conceal my indignation about undeserved insults and disgraceful comments affecting numerous Bulgarian officers by individuals who pose as official spokesmen and are widely cited in the mass media. Dozens of people addressed the General Staff with questions on the subject and many journalists asked for my opinion, especially after the appearance of denials and various interpretations of my recent statement on Bulgarian National Television.

The publication of Order No. 332 was a total surprise for me. It was prepared without any member of the General Staff being informed; the draft was not coordinated with the General Staff's representatives, nor with competent experts; and besides the minister, the document was signed by his deputy minister instead of bearing the chief of staff's signature.

Immediately after I was acquainted with the order I called on the minister asking him to cancel the order and I submitted a written document containing a well-founded argument against the order. It was my wish to prevent the tension likely to build up among the officer corps, which actually emerged and rapidly escalated.

The order is dated 25 August, which was the day on which the defense minister, according to his own instructions, was expected to sign the orders and proposals on decrees for the reappointment of several officers and generals. I will try to explain why I pay so much attention to this fact: It is because everyone knows that the signing of such orders and proposals are traditionally preceded by a long and complex preparation.

As early as 19 June 1992 I issued instructions to all Army commanders and chiefs about the forthcoming reshuffle of cadres, which was expected to take place by the end of August. The instructions contained the requirements based on the defense minister's directives of 12 June 1992 and on the evaluation of officers' qualifications, which were drafted by the "Cadre Policy" Department and which the minister himself approved. None of the aforementioned documents mentions the views and interpretations contained in Order No. 332.

In implementing the aforementioned instructions, all our officers were tested according to their qualifications and divided into three groups (according to the results of the tests), after which they were either recommended for promotion, confirmed in their present rank, or proposed for dismissal from the Army either on grounds of retirement age or for professional inadequacy. The proposals were discussed consecutively by the commanding staffs of the units and groups of units and by the military councils within the various formations and branches of service.

These difficult and responsible tasks should have been concluded at a session of the General Staff's Military Council scheduled for 18 August 1992. The members of the Supreme Military Council under the defense minister were also invited to attend the session. Unfortunately, however, neither the minister nor his deputies attended, presumably because of other obligations, as they explained. Naturally, following the session I issued specific instructions for the preparation of orders and proposals on the reappointment of officers and generals that had to be signed.

This approach was the result of our long experience and of my understanding of political leadership and of the intensified civic control over the Army's activities. This approach assumes that officers should be appointed solely on the basis of their confirmed professional and command-organizational skills and optimally tries to prevent the chances for subjective or involuntary mistakes in cadre policy.

Order No. 332, however, changed the situation entirely. Should it be applied, it would deprive our previous work of all its meaning. We would be obliged to start all over again with the complex cycle of promoting cadres, with all the predictable, negative consequences. This would mean a serious disruption in the normal pace of military organization for a long period. An additional, even more serious problem would have occurred—namely, according to the minister's order, we would not be allowed to promote officers who have attended military school for less than four years, in spite of having subsequently graduated from military academies where they acquired the necessary educational qualifications, which the minister's order denies. This applies to hundreds of officers who occupy important command and administrative positions in tactical and operational departments, in the General Staff and even in Defense Ministry structures. In addition to the necessary theoretical training, those officers have acquired great practical experience and are at the most suitable age for their development as military experts—namely, between the ages of 35 and 50. Hundreds of others who are not envisaged for reappointment in 1992 would automatically be declared inadequate for their posts, according to the standards of professional qualifications, and would remain in the ranks that they happened to occupy when the order was issued, and, according to circumstances, they should be gradually, or speedily, removed from the Army because of their "lack of professional training."

This is where I see a danger for the Army and for the officer corps in the meaning of the aforementioned order, regardless of whether or not its authors realized it and intended it. Thank God, the cadre reshuffle took place according to rules that were established prior to the order.

Hints were also dropped saying that I allegedly told lies in my television statement on Order No. 332, that I deliberately interpreted Order No. 332, as well as the additional specification, which was issued under Order No. 357, in a subjective manner, and that I tried to discriminate the civilian structures and behaved incorrectly toward the minister himself. I have no intention of responding to such hints. I am happy that thousands of the Bulgarian people's honorable sons are acknowledged as graduates from higher educational institutions and that tension could thus be avoided in the Army. I am glad that the officers can peacefully pursue their military duties. I hope that this unprecedented, controversial issue will be clarified and settled in a legal manner. I am fully aware of the tremendous responsibility that I bear for the Army's combat readiness and for its morale, and hence, for the country's security. Therefore, I would never dare to make untruthful or biased statements in the mass media, the National Television included. I also disapprove of my statement being wrongly interpreted at the highest level through the citing of thoughts that I have never expressed. Whenever one talks about someone in his absence, one should discuss what the individual in question really said, rather than interpret what he may have wanted to say.

I take the liberty of appealing to the National Assembly, the supreme commander, the executive power, and to all our people, to all those for whom the fate and security of the motherland is not a mere phrase, but a specific term of value. For the last three years the Bulgarian Army has demonstrated and continues to demonstrate, in a categorical and unmistakable manner, that it resolutely supports the democratic changes in our motherland and the legally elected organs of state power. Our Army personnel are patiently enduring the hardships of our epoch. Our soldiers and officers are dedicating their efforts to their only ideal—namely, Bulgaria—and their only aspiration is to carry out their duties undisturbed under the present social, everyday, and professional conditions, which are—in any case—hard.

In view of the existing realities, the attempts to disrupt Army life can only be described as an adventure the consequences of which are unpredictable, but whose direction can by no means be called favorable. It does not make much difference for our country's security whether such a situation is likely to produce an actual weakening of the troops, or whether it would affect the psychological endurance of the Army personnel to breaking point. Facts and events that have occurred in our close vicinity unequivocally confirm this argument.

The Army is not the exclusive property of the chief of staff, nor is it the sole property of the officer corps. It belongs to all the people. The soldiers shall not betray their people. Nevertheless all citizens of our country should realize that the Army belongs to each of them and that everyone has his obligations toward the Army.

Defense Minister Responds

AU1509102292 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 8 Sep 92 p 1

[Article by Minister of Defense Aleksandur Staliyski: "A Minister Should Act as Minister"]

[Text] The article "The Army Cannot Live Without Its Officers and Without the People's Support," which was published in BULGARSKA ARMIYA, puzzles me to some extent. I have never sought and do not seek any confrontation between the General Staff and the Ministry of Defense. To my very great regret fat is being poured on the fire. It is not the civilians in the ministry that are doing so, but rather the military. There are three memorable dates in our recent history: 9 September 1944, which was doomsday for the Bulgarian people; 10 November 1989, which was a farce; and 13 October 1991. This last date marked the election victory of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Hence, the SDS is ruling the country. The SDS is ruling thanks to and with the people's support.

An order that I issued, namely Order No. 332 [stipulating that graduation from a military academy no longer carried an academic title], which is a legal order, has been interpreted just as the devil would interpret the Bible. General Petrov, who, in my view, is an honorable man, came to me and said: "Minister, I am not a lawyer, and therefore I would like to get some advice." Whom did he consult? This is none of my concern. Ministers Yordan Sokolov and Svetoslav Luchnikov, as well as Professor Misho Vulchev, are familiar with the case of the famous Order No. 332. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, I issued a second order in which I clarified the first. The second order by no means contradicts the first. There is another distressing fact, however. The General Staff has not understood or refuses to understand that I am not obliged to submit my orders to the General Staff for countersigning or approval. The General Staff is not and cannot be placed above the Ministry of Defense, because there is no legal act providing for this. In every civilized country, which also means in Bulgaria, the General Staff is supposed to deal with the troops. I have never tried to obstruct the Army's work. Nevertheless, there is another thing that should be recalled: The Bulgarian people have a sense of proportion, while some people at the top of our Army do not seem to share this sense. They have no sense of proportion.

I have not reprimanded General Petrov for taking advantage of the president's television time in order to discuss the famous order behind my back, and without being a legal expert.

Nothing can be done in secret in this country any more. I have no intention of establishing my own ministry within the ministry and my council of ministers within the Council of Ministers, as one of my predecessors did. General, you should not forget that the people elected the SDS on 13 October 1992.

Before this article is published I will submit it to General Petrov.

Petrov Notes Impending 'Discord'

AU1509102892 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 10 Sep 92 p 1

[Interview with Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Army General Staff, by Nikolay Gavrilov at Krumovo Airport on 9 September: "We Have an Army, We Have Officers"]

[Text] General Petrov seemed to be confident and preoccupied at the air show at Krumovo Airport on 9 September. On 8 September he was one of those who took part in a Hornet F-18 flight, while on 7 September, in a central place in BULGARSKA ARMIYA, he pointed out his disagreement with Defense Minister Staliyski over the notorious "educational" Order No. 332.

The general briefly answered a few questions.

[Gavrilov] Is there a conflict between the military and the civilians?

[Petrov] I have no comment, but it appears that we are heading toward discord.

[Gavrilov] Could you comment on Minister Staliyski's firm position that he does not have to submit his orders for the approval of the General Staff?

[Petrov] The Army cannot exist without its officers and without the support of the people. The defense minister's notorious order basically disrupts the pace of military work, while a new personnel reshuffle will have negative consequences for the Army.

[Gavrilov] Did you think about Defense Minister Staliyski while flying up there with the Americans?....

General Petrov did not answer this question. He only slapped my shoulder and laughed cordially.

DPS, SDS Leaders To Clarify Differences

AU1409125292 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 10 Sep 92 p 1

[Milena Shopova article: "Dogan Postpones Agreement With Union of Democratic Forces"]

[Text] On 9 September Yunal Lyutfi announced that the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] will indefinitely postpone signing an agreement with the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. The DPS does not want a war with the SDS, the spokesman said after the SDS openly attacked Dogan and his people on 8 September.

The leaders of the SDS and the DPS will thoroughly clarify their differences, Mr. Lyutfi said.

We do not want to interfere in the coalition's work, but as a part of the parliamentary majority, we must react to the undemocratic tendencies within the SDS, Mr. Lyutfi said. According to the DPS, Stefan Savov's Democratic Party has assumed the role of a leading party in the SDS coalition by adopting the manner of an administrative power.

The DPS wants to work with the SDS, but with other SDS ministers and, eventually, with another SDS prime minister.

It is almost certain that the DPS will not agree to Kostov remaining as finance minister. For his part, [SDS spokesman] Mikhail Nedelchev said on 9 September that, if necessary, the SDS will have new elections, but will not replace Ivan Kostov.

Mr. Lyutfi stressed that Ahmed Dogan had to demand the replacement of ministers and even of Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov because the government had exhausted its possibilities. "Perhaps tomorrow we will have new political realities, and we could be accused of being accomplices only because we had kept silent."

The tales about the participation of the DPS in a planned coup against the prime minister are irresponsible, Mr. Lyutfi said. According to him, there are forces interested in driving a wedge between the SDS and the DPS. The DPS will not ask R. Serbezov, author of the rumor about the coup, to clarify the affair, but the SDS should look into this affair, Mr. Lyutfi said.

On 8 September Aleksandur Yordanov said that "Mr. Serbezov merely imparted his party's concern." According to him, this was the end of the matter.

Alternative Social Liberals Affirm SDS Loyalty

AU1509085292 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 10 Sep 92 p 8

[Article by Professor Nikolay Vasilev, deputy prime minister and leader of the Alternative Social Liberal Party: "Doubts Replace Evidence, Suspicion Replaces Documents"]

[Text] I am not afraid of Mikhail Nedelchev [spokesman of the Union of Democratic Forces], who has said that with new elections, the Alternative Social Liberal Party [ASP] will become a "reject" and will be expelled from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. I calmly declare such threats to be nothing more than manipulations aimed at SDS voters. We do not oppose the SDS program; we support implementation of this program. We are not people who will compromise or make deals with the communists. This was done by last year's "rejects." We are a loyal and correct member of the SDS

and will continue to act within the SDS. Our criticism is an internal matter and is directed at those SDS leaders who think they are impeccable.

I am concerned about the attitude of the SDS and the government toward everything that surrounds us, including those social groups that we cannot win over as allies. I mean private business, the trade unions, and the press.

The president has said that the SDS government is at war with all those groups. Denials of the "it-is-not-true" type immediately followed. Those groups were then accused of beginning a war against the government. However, why is someone engaged in heavy fighting against the cabinet? Obviously, because he has objective reasons. We at the SDS do not have a completely correct attitude in this matter.

The Podkrepa Labor Confederation tried to criticize us a long time ago. We did not pay any attention to this criticism. There is still something abnormally subjective about the political process in the country. In many cases the political organizations that take part in this process are extremely personified and identified with their leaders. Sometime these people like each other, and sometimes they cannot stand each other. When they begin a personal conflict it immediately has a serious impact on relations between the parties.

For example, the sexual dispute between [Podkrepa leader] Dr. Trenchev and Mikhail Nedelchev [referring to Nedelchev remarks on the fact that Trenchev regularly carries a gun and that the gun is a penis substitute] had a serious impact on relations between Podkrepa and the SDS. Each of the two organizations firmly supported its leader and a conflict developed.

We are responsible for disrupting the mechanisms for dialogue with the trade unions. We claimed that they were exceeding their prerogatives. It is true that the trade unions in Bulgaria are politicized, but this is something that is characteristic of our period and should not have been an argument for interrupting dialogue.

Sometimes arguments about relations with Podkrepa are incorrect. For example, it was said that if we want the SDS and Trenchev to cooperate it would mean a triumph for the Mafia. This was an absolutely stupid idea. We do not want anything of the sort. All Mafia groups in Bulgaria should be combated, but we would like to see some evidence and then send the Mafia people to prison. If there is a Mafia within the SDS it also should be sent to prison. If there is a Mafia in [Business Bloc leader] Mollov's organization it too should be sent to prison.

There are several powerful economic groups in Bulgaria, such as the Union for Citizens' Economic Initiative, "Alternative-2000," and so forth. Many people within the SDS suspect that those groups are involved in laundering red money. I, too, have every right to suspect this, but I would like to see proof. However, one cannot conduct such a policy toward private business, instead of allowing it the freedom it needs to develop. The dirty money problem is not an economic issue. It is a matter for the prosecution authorities.

In Bulgaria doubts often replace evidence and suspicion replaces documents. Now, we are also entitled to suspect that many people in the SDS were agents, but we must publish their files and show relevant documents.

The ASP insists that the SDS economic policy be amended and it is concerned about the foreign debt. The demand to replace Finance Minister Ivan Kostov figured in the resolution of our 5 September conference, but was absent from my analysis of the political situation. The issue involves the different views of two groups of SDS economic experts, who will finally meet with Ivan Kostov. This is something we demanded many months ago. I think that the meeting will be successful, because we already sense sufficient symptoms of a change in his approach. It is a change that comes close to the approach of the ASP.

'Crisis' in Military Industry Examined

AU1009195392 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 7 Sep 92 p 8

[Interview with Petur Demirev, executive director of the Arsenal Military Industrial Enterprise, by Maksim Bozhilov; place and date not given: "The Military Industry Is in Crisis, But a Way Out Is Still Open"]

[Text] [Bozhilov] We decided to approach you for an interview because the military industry as a whole is in a crisis and you seem to be quite well informed on the subject. What is the essential problem, in your opinion?

[Demirev] The state of affairs at the Arsenal Military Industrial Enterprise is typical of the entire sector. The current situation is not very bright, as the public knows from numerous media reports. There was a great deal of talk about double-tier management systems in the past, but there was even a third tier at Arsenal. The company management was totally isolated from the problems of the plants by an intermediate organization called integrated management. During the 1990-91 transitional period, this intermediate organizational tier was abolished by order, but this resulted in a five to six month period during which new directors were being appointed, while the old ones had not been dismissed. This situation inevitably produced problems and these problems escalated into the strike of December 1991 because nothing was being accomplished throughout the entire line of management—from top to bottom; no raw materials were being supplied and the market situation was deteriorating.

Following 10 November 1989, the system of coercive instructions "from the top" was abolished, but even after this date the situation hardly improved. Our debts increased because of the interest rate imposed and as a result of unsold production. Currently, we have goods

worth approximately 700 million [currency not specified] in storage that we would like to sell any time. The present management has mapped out a stabilization program for the period until the end of the year and has also drafted some projects for 1993, which should be taken into consideration. They are related to supplies of raw materials and the international market situation in our field. Our proposals have been examined by the ministry [not further identified] and have also been submitted to the Council of Ministers.

The granting of initial credits is the chief problem because things at Arsenal have been going downhill for the last three years. Our turnover has been declining since the beginning of 1992. In the first place, the management borrowed money from the banks for the payment of wages without considering production needs—namely the purchase of the raw materials required to put the huge machinery at our plants into operation. We currently owe about 160 million leva to production-sharing partners within the country, debts that have accumulated over the last three to four years.

[Bozhilov] The questions of whether we should change our specialized production and whether we should start producing goods that are compatible with those of NATO-member countries are being widely discussed. How would these changes affect the Arsenal Enterprise and our military industry as a whole?

[Demirev] At least a year and a half to two years is required for the production of specialized equipment. You can imagine what it would mean to completely abandon the Russian arms that we are now producing and to switch to NATO weapons. This is practically impossible because it is likely to produce a production vacuum.

[Bozhilov] Who would gain and who would lose from such a drastic change?

[Demirev] The state would be the loser in every respect. Our army is expected to switch to mixed military equipment within the next few years. Why should these weapons not be produced in this country, considering that we possess the necessary industrial capacity and specialists? A military industrial plant cannot be established within one or two years; a period of 15-20 years is required for its development and consolidation.

[Bozhilov] How is Arsenal Enterprise carrying out its business transactions?

[Demirev] Since April 1992 we have had a commercial license, which permits us to sign direct business contracts with partners abroad. For the time being, we are still fulfilling contracts signed a few years ago and have not yet concluded any business transactions on the foreign market. We were only dealing with past production, but today we are already trying to establish contacts and are looking for the most advantageous offers.

[Bozhilov] What obligations does the state have with Arsenal?

[Demirev] The state has no obligations whatsoever with our enterprise. We are responsible for our own business transactions, but the state exerts its influence on our entire production cycle and commercial activities. The government appointed a commission to supervise our business deals. The state is one of our customers, but its share of our business is not sufficient to guarantee our production. We have asked the prime minister for a meeting to discuss our problems, and I think the government should pay closer attention to them because by solving them, we are also solving those of the state.

[Bozhilov] Can you describe relations between the present and former managements? Certain reports and articles have appeared in the print media hinting that the former management considers itself to have been illegally dismissed.

[Demirev] I do not know whether the management was removed illegally, but I am convinced that seven months should be sufficient to prevent a company's decline. The former management team was far from professional. Judging by the backgrounds of its members, one could hardly have expected them to cope with their work. As far as the present team is concerned, I am convinced that it is composed entirely of people with the necessary professional skills. This is confirmed by the fact that both the trade union organizations support us.

[Bozhilov] Today Bulgaria hardly needs such a large and unevenly developed military-industrial complex. Specialized production used to be shared among the individual member countries of the Warsaw Pact organization. What about conversion?

[Demirev] Conversion is taking place. As a matter of fact, in addition to specialized production, we are also developing a machine-building industry at the Arsenal plants. We are producing an entire range of machine-building products, but I cannot say that we are entirely engaged in conversion since we are producing goods that are in demand on the international market. We are talking about business here, so should we discontinue production of a commodity that is in demand?

[Bozhilov] To what extent are government bodies acquainted with your views?

[Demirev] We have been asked this question on numerous occasions. As a matter of fact, a government commission is touring the military industrial enterprises and is becoming acquainted with their work. Several enterprises still carry many burdens "decreed from the top," as happened in the past. The commission is now in charge of checking all their archives, and I am convinced that a correct decision will be made as a result of the investigations.

[Bozhilov] Where do you see your main obligations as executive director, in production or in management?

[Demirev] In accordance with the existing structure, I would say that management is my chief task. The executive director should be relieved of all obligations related to the production and technical departments, so he can devote all his efforts to the search for new business opportunities.

I do not have the impression that anyone is trying to obstruct the solution of Arsenal's problems, but I am convinced that several people are not sufficiently well acquainted with the problems of specialized production. After we have explained the problems to these people, we can expect better understanding.

[Bozhilov] What do you want from the state? Do you just expect your debts to be written off, or do you want more?

[Demirev] If we only had our debts written off, it would mean total ruin for us. As long as we are not in a position to purchase the raw materials necessary to put the plants into operation, we cannot accomplish anything. We need a total of 300 million leva to develop production and to pay off old debts with our Bulgarian partners. According to our program, we could possibly start these payments on 1 July 1993.

[Bozhilov] When do you think we can expect some decisive changes at Arsenal Enterprise?

[Demirev] It should have been yesterday. We are now conducting negotiations with a bank, and I think the problem should be resolved within the next few days. The 60 million leva granted to us is not sufficient; however, it is barely enough to hold the situation together for a month. If this question is not settled promptly, I think the military-industrial complex is doomed to failure.

[Bozhilov] Are you not afraid that the new era in our country requires new managerial skills, which are not very well known in Bulgaria, and that this also applies to the military-industrial complex?

[Demirev] It depends on the individual, on how quickly he is capable of coping with the new situation. Some people need a few months to adjust, others may require years. On the other hand, someone may have the necessary training, but as long as he does not have the opportunity to show his skills, what use are they?

Czech Premier Departs; To Meet With Baker

LD1409201292 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1900 gmt 14 Sep 92

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus left for a five-day visit to the United States today. He is expected to deliver important speeches at the conference of the American Association of Economists, to be held in Dallas, and at the World Congress on Economic Development, to be held in Washington.

He will meet on Friday with James Baker, the personnel chief of the White House, as well as other government officials and representatives of financial circles.

Vaclav Klaus' visit is taking place prior to the annual meeting of the IMF and the World Bank.

Meciar Holds Talks With Hungarian Prime Minister

AU1409143292 Prague CSTK in English 2140 GMT 9 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest Sep 9 (CSTK correspondent)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall agreed in their talks today to set up a commission that would settle the controversial issue of a joint project on the Danube River.

Meciar arrived here on a one-day visit for talks focusing on the twin-dam Danube River project and on problems concerning the Hungarian minority in Slovakia and the Slovak minority in Hungary.

The two premiers held a face-to-face session before their delegations joined them later.

Slovak Government Spokesman Bohuslav Geci told reporters that Hungary insisted that work should be stopped on Slovakia's part of the project at Gabcikovo. The Slovak delegation disagreed, saying "it has no political reasons which could excuse such a decision to our population", Geci said.

The Hungarian delegation took a positive stand on seeking a solution to the problem by creating a bilateral parliamentary commission, which would later include European Community (EC) members, to examine the problem, said Geci.

In 1989 Hungary stopped work on its part of the project at Nagymaros for environmental reasons, while Czechoslovakia insisted on completing its part at Gabcikovo, several dozen kilometers upstream.

At a press conference after the talks, Meciar said the two sides agreed to set up commissions of experts in their countries, which would examine the position of the minorities in the partner country and would put forward their conclusions to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Meciar described the talks as positive, even though the two sides insisted on their positions regarding the Gabcikovo issue.

Meciar and Antall described the extent of bilateral economic cooperation as insufficient. While Hungary ranks fifth among Slovakia's trade partners, Hungary's trade with Slovakia constitutes only 1.6 percent of its overall volume.

Bill on Termination of Federation Explained

AU1409143692 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 10 Sep 92 p 3

["Explanatory note" on the "bill on the manner of termination of the CSFR," submitted by the CSFR Government to the CSFR Federal Assembly; place and date of submission not given]

[Text]

I. General Part

The bill has been drafted with a view to implementing the CSFR Government Policy Statement, in which the CSFR Government undertook to prepare and, if authorized to do so, propose conditions for the smooth functioning of two sovereign states, each with its own status as subject under international law.

The current constitutional provisions do not expressly enshrine the republics' right of secession.

The submitted bill is designed to ensure the lawfulness and legitimacy of the process of termination of the Czechoslovak Federation.

The bill puts forward several variants of termination of the federation, making it possible to be flexible in choosing the most appropriate solution to conform with actual developments.

The bill comprises all four methods that have been agreed upon—that is, a Federal Assembly declaration on the termination of the Federation; an agreement between the two National Councils; a referendum; and a unilateral act by one of the republics.

The implementation of a referendum would represent a financial burden for the state budgets of the CSFR, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic, whereas the adoption of any of the other acts would entail no financial costs.

II. Special Part

Regarding Article 1: This provision enumerates possible methods by which the CSFR will cease to exist.

In view of the momentous nature of this act, it is necessary that, should the procedure according to subparagraph a) be applied, the Declaration be approved by

a constitutional law. The adoption of the Declaration could be initiated by the National Councils.

No special form is prescribed for the agreement between the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council because it will undoubtedly be part of the agreement between the National Councils on the termination of the CSFR.

A referendum is a constitutional institution that is part of the CSFR's constitutional system. Moreover, it is assumed that a referendum could also be called on the basis of the constitutional law of the relevant National Council.

No form is prescribed for the withdrawal of the Czech Republic or the Slovak Republic from the CSFR by means of the constitutionally expressed will of the Czech National Council or the Slovak National Council. What is implied are methods of a constitutionally expressed will other than a referendum according to Article 1 c).

Regarding Article 2: The inner-state arrangement of the termination of the CSFR according to Article 1 provides for a dignified form of termination of the CSFR, and for the emergence of two states as subjects under international law.

Paragraph 1 states that both republics will become successor states.

In the event of termination of the CSFR by any manner listed in Article 1, the law sets out the conditions needed to secure the lawfulness of the termination of the CSFR and successor rights for the two republics. These provisions respond to international conventions on the rights of succession of states. Living up to this procedure will also determine the other states' response to the termination of the CSFR.

Regarding Article 3: Should, in the event of termination of the CSFR by any manner, a deadline be set by which the CSFR will cease to exist, the two republics are empowered to discuss the arrangement of future relations between them even prior to this date in matters that, according to valid constitutional provisions, fall within federal jurisdiction.

Parliament Declaration To Dissolve CSFR Favored

AU1409135892 Prague CSTK in English 1628 GMT 10 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sep 10 (CSTK)—A declaration by the Czechoslovak parliament on terminating the Czechoslovak federation would be the most acceptable form of splitting the federation for the federal parliament, according to Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Deputy Chairman Petr Cermak.

Cermak, currently the federal minister of the interior, was reacting at an ODS press conference today to CSTK's question what way of splitting Czechoslovakia the ODS prefers.

The other three possible ways of breaking up Czechoslovakia are, as defined in a bill to be submitted to the federal parliament later this month, by an agreement between the Czech and Slovak parliaments, by a referendum, and by withdrawal of either republic from the federation.

Referring to the principles of dividing federal property, which were agreed upon between the ODS and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) last month, Cermak said the 2:1 ratio is "relatively just." Absolute justice cannot exist in this respect and much will depend on generosity, Cermak added.

ODS Deputy Chairman Josef Zieleniec said the ODS supports the idea of a bicameral parliament for the Czech Republic, with a senate comprising current federal parliament deputies elected in the Czech Republic.

This solution would be practical as to organize new elections in "a stormy period following the division of the state would be music to the ears of those who wish chaos," Zieleniec said.

CSTK Director Blames Politics for Dismissal

AU1409142892 Prague CSTK in English 2023 GMT 9 Sep 92

[Text] Prague-Bratislava [dateline as received]—Czechoslovak News Agency General Director Petr Uhl said today he does not think the statements that he is not the right person to carry out CSTK's transformation into a Czech news agency are the real reason for his recall from the post.

In a telephone interview with the SLOVAK NEWS AGENCY TK SR Uhl voiced the view that the reasons for the Federal Government's decision are rather political. He confirmed his intention to continue work in CSTK as a journalist.

The Czechoslovak Government recalled Uhl from his post as CSTK general director today.

Serbian Transit Traffic Undisturbed

LD1309151792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 13 Sep 92

[Text] Transit traffic is undisturbed at the Roszke [Serbian] border crossing the Border Guard reports. Lieutenant Colonel Pal Illes, reporting this, also denied a report in the Belgrade POLITIKA that the Hungarian customs authorities, together with the Common Market representatives who are assisting them with their work, had diverted—toward Romania and Bulgaria—transit traffic en route through Serbia to other countries. POLITIKA alleges that the Hungarian measure is a tightening of compliance with the embargo against Serbia.

Goncz Views Hungarian Anti-Semitism

LD1209170192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 12 Sep 92

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by correspondent Istvan Wiesinger]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Wiesinger] Very briefly, in your opinion, is there anti-Semitism in Hungary?

[Goncz) Of course there is. I think that this is quite (?natural). Of course we now also have written proof of this, of what up to now was always carefully avoided. Many nice synonyms can be used for the word Jew. It would be surprising if this did not exist. Take, for example, the fact that at present in Hungary, I cannot give numbers, but there are several tens of thousands of people, old people, who have lived through failures, whose lives have been shattered by the past 40 years. [passage omitted]. They obviously went into the change thinking that in some way they will obtain spiritual, material compensation for their sufferings, for their lack of success. To expect that these people will be dissatisfied and will blame themselves [changes thought], perhaps some of them can blame themselves, the majority cannot.

Unfortunately we are dealing with a pain that in reality cannot be resolved. This could have been eased if they had—and I say this seriously—been given in time, in some way, the recognition, the thanks, the respect that they did not receive, for time spent in prison, internment, for being passed over, for unnecessary heart attacks.

If (?someone) falls for the eastern European practice, whose fault is it? For centuries it has been perceived as the fault of the Jews. At present, those forces that moved pre-World War II anti-Semitism, that served to abolish the economic power, divide up Jewish assets, can scarcely be said to be operating. I do not think the present-day Jewish community in Hungary personally has the same kind of wealth that could be divisible, (?or) that could be felt by society. So, it is much more a question here of the revival of old passions, the reawakening of old legends, giving vent to emotional anger in side channels. It is impossible not to take this into account.

One cannot really talk about there being institutionalised anti-Semitism, about danger threatening the existence of Jewry. As for what they say about the Jewish banking system in Hungary that is squeezing Hungarians, well, I think this belongs more to the world of stories, for according to my knowledge, almost all, the majority of banks have a state capital surplus. [passage omitted]

[Wiesinger] If this is true, then on 22 September, at the proposal of Tom Lantos, the U.S. House of Representatives is preparing to discuss certain manifestations of the situation in Hungary [in wake of the Csurka document]. If this really does happen, can this not be viewed as interference in our internal affairs?

[Goncz] Well, I think that interference in internal affairs as a matter of fact means diplomatic intervention. I think that the determination, definition, of this [word indistinct] category is rather vague.

I am not pleased that Hungary is becoming a topic in such a way. If it transpires unequivocally at this debate that the Hungarian people can be identified [as heard] with anti-Semitic, racist manifestations, then it will be useful to us. If this turns into one-sided accusations, then it will be harmful. But the fundamental damage has already been done.

[Wiesinger] What is this?

[Goncz] What they take as the basis. It is very difficult to demand that they should not hear something that has been said out loud. Hungary is living in the world, there are foreign correspondents, a sensitive public opinion surrounds it, international economic life reacts sensitively to every sign of uncertainty. It is very hard to demand that they should not discuss this if it has been voiced.

[Wiesinger] Some kind of opinion will be formed. What should we do with this?

[Goncz] I think what we should do, quite independently of every opinion, is to keep our own political backyard in order. Hungary's domestic world cannot be kept in order by the United States, by Congress. Such a thing, even in the worst case, counts only as a sign [words indistinct].

[Wiesinger] Are you not afraid that if they discuss this, then in a certain way this is really a sign that they are trying to influence us. There could be circles that use this as proof that they are indeed interfering in our affairs. Direct contact can ...

[Goncz interrupts] Let me say that in politics and also in foreign politics, everyone uses everyone, and the whole of politics is nothing other than the art of exercising mutual influence. Of course, they try to influence us, just

as we try to influence them. If I go abroad, it is my aim to influence them, to influence them in a positive direction. [passage omitted]

[Wiesinger] You will shortly leave on two important trips abroad and will come across the opinion of politicians. You are going to Slovenia, and to Israel on 20 September. [passage omitted]

In connection with your other trip, is there any connection between the timing of the visit to Israel and the appearance of those allegations that you are fulfilling orders from Israeli (?contacts)?

[Goncz] [laughs] I consider it very unlikely because Israeli President Herzog was here a year and a half ago and handed over an official invitation then. [passage omitted]

[Wiesinger] What I was thinking of is that if it appears in THE TIMES of London that the legend of the Jewish conspiracy has reappeared in Hungary, then I think it would also appear in Tel Aviv.

[Goncz] I think that today, in view of the fact that I will be talking to serious politicians, this legend of a Jewish conspiracy will not even be mentioned. However, I take it as almost certain that it will be raised during the course of the talks and several times by journalists, whether there is anti-Semitism in Hungary that [word indistinct] threatens the existence of Jews; whether this threatens investments in Hungary; whether it threatens the economic contacts between Israel and Hungary, and other things. This cannot be avoided.

My task here is quite plainly to convince them that for Hungary Israel is an important partner, just as Hungary is for Israel. [passage omitted] Principally that there are flourishing economic and cultural contacts between the two countries, and I have to convince them that there is no politician, no responsible politician in Hungary who is not aware of the importance of this, or who would question it in the slightest way.

[Wiesinger] [passage omitted] How do you view this trip? Will it be easy or difficult?

[Goncz] I am convinced it will be difficult for we are starting with a heavy burden, but I am convinced it will be successful. [passage omitted]

Solidarity March on Parliament, President's Palace

LD1409225392 Warsaw PAP in English 1722 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 14—Several thousand Solidarity members marched on parliament, the cabinet office and the Belweder Presidential Palace in Warsaw on Monday [14 September]. The demonstration was organised by Solidarity's Warsaw Chapter and its aim was support for the unions' demands on parliament and the government.

The demonstrators marched under the slogans "Down with the governments of the quarrelling elites" and "The last peaceful demonstration in Warsaw".

Warsaw Solidarity leader Maciej Jankowski told the marchers that the demonstration was to make the public and centres of power realise that "introducing a workable reform in this country is not possible without a coherent economic programme, without the creation of a legal system and without taking into account social costs." The demonstrators chanted, "We want facts and not pacts".

Jankowski declared that "if necessary, next time there will be more of us. If there is no other way out at all we will organise a general strike and we will see if the elites sweep us away or if we sweep them away."

Solidarity members from the Swietokrzyski and Silesian regions in southern Poland took part in the demonstration which was mainly made up of Warsaw trade unionists, including 3,000 from the FSO car plant.

Meanwhile in Szczecin, northwest Poland, the regional leadership of the OPZZ Trade Union Federation called of a street demonstration planned for Tuesday.

The decision was taken after the OPZZ had received the government proposals concerning the pact on state enterprises, which included replies to several of the union federations' demands, according to the local OPZZ Chairman Lucjan Sadura.

Protesters' Claim Denied

LD1509104292 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Text] A moment ago we received a statement by the government press office, which reads: It is not true that no government representative came out to meet with protesting members of Solidarity outside the Council of Ministers Office. A special delegation has been waiting since 1400 to meet with the demonstrators. Less than three minutes after the demonstration reached the Council of Ministers building a delegation was invited inside for talks. Unfortunately, according to the government press office, the demonstrators left their demands in the office and went away. Our reporter insists that the protesters were waiting about 20 minutes outside the Council of Ministers Office.

Banks Offer Loans To Drought-Stricken Farmers

AU1409140292 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 11 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 11—The presidents of 13 commercial banks which met here Friday [11 September] with Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski and other government and central bank officials declared their readiness to extend considerable low interest loans to farmers who suffered from this summer's drought.

"I expect the total amount of loans to reach at least 5.6 trillion zlotys (ca. 400 million dollars)," Deputy Minister of Agriculture Jerzy Rey said after the meeting.

The actual sum of loans made available to farmers for purchases of fertilizers, seeds, plant protection agents, fuel and fodder will only be known after further consultations between the banks and the ministry, to be held in the coming days.

The ministry wants the total amount to reach 10 trillion zlotys.

The interest rate on the loans, to be repaid after a year, will be 15 percent. The difference between this preferential rate and the commercial rate, which is 3 to 4 times higher, will be covered from the agriculture restructuring fund managed by the ministry.

Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski, who also attended the meeting, explained that since interest payments will mature a year from granting the credits the financial burden on the fund, which is partly financed from the state budget, will be delayed and can be taken account of when drafting the 1993 budget.

Also, the president of the National Bank of Poland, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, declared that the loan programme will not additionally fuel inflation.

Iliescu Reports on Visit to Italy

AU1509100492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0821 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/9/1992—The Vatican appreciates the way in which the Romanian state pursues and acts for resolving any problems of religious nature, and specifically the approach of the issue of the retrocession of church properties, President Ion Iliescu stated after his meeting with Pope John Paul II, Monday, 14 September, at the Pope's summer's residence in Gandolfo, on the banks of the Lake Albana.

This was the first meeting his sanctity had with a head of state after the surgery he underwent last summer.

As the Romanian president assessed, the meeting made it possible for the two sides to examine aspects relating to the attitude of the Romanian state to the church, the manner in which delicate situations arising from the post-war developments are being solved. Positive remarks were made about the Romanian authorities' endeavor to find, through the bill on religious freedoms, debated with the representatives of all denominations in Romania—the consensus apt to give it the appropriate form for submission to Parliament.

The dialogue between his sanctity the pope and President Iliescu, which extended, as observers remarked, beyond the ordinary time-limit, was remarkably relaxed, President Iliescu said.

The two sides also exchanged opinions about the international situation, with a special stress on the developments in former Yugoslavia.

"I have always appreciated and I voiced my appreciation of the position adopted by Pope John Paul II, who pronounced from the very beginning for averting the conflict, the military engagements and forcible solutions, and for the mediation of contacts between conflicting sides until a consensus is reached," President Iliescu stated.

At the Quirinale Palace, President Ion Iliescu conferred with Italy's President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro.

We believe that the Romanian-Italian relations are following a positive course and we expressed our wish that the bilateral cooperation become more intense in as many fields as possible," President Iliescu also stated.

President Iliescu expressed his satisfaction for the active support Italy is giving Romania for its admission to both the Common Market and the Council of Europe.

The two heads of state exchanged opinions on the delicate issues of international life and none of them concealed his concern about the situation in former Yugoslavia.

Regarding the Maastricht Treaty and the consequences of its coming into force, President Iliescu shared President Scalfaro's viewpoint that this new stage in the development of Europe should not become a barrier between East and West, the future of the latter being inseparable from the participation of the eastern and central part of the continent.

"We also share the view that the former ideological iron curtain must not be replaced now by an economic iron curtain," President Iliescu opined.

On the occasion of his two top-level contacts in Rome, President Iliescu renewed the invitations formerly issued to Pope John Paul II and to President Scalfaro, who both accepted to visit Romania when their official agendas permit.

During the evening, President Ion Iliescu gave interviews, at the Romanian Embassy in Rome, for several foreign media: RAI 1 and RAI 2, the Israeli Television, the Italian newspapers LA REPUBLICA, CORRIERE DE LA SERA, IL TEMPO, IL MESSAGGERO.

One of the questions was how could President Iliescu spare time for these visits during the election campaign, in which he himself is running for presidency.

Ion Iliescu explained that "the national day of Romania at Expo '92 had been scheduled long before the date of general elections in Romania was delayed for September, and we found it natural to honor the invitation launched to us at the highest level, as so many other heads of state from all continents did."

In connection with the news carried by some newspapers about a possible interview with the French President Francois Mitterrand, President Iliescu admitted that such a meeting had been intended, but, for fortuitous reasons, the meeting had to be canceled. "As you know, he said, a last minute ill health condition affected President Mitterrand, with whom, as a matter of fact, I had a telephone conversation before my departure for Seville."

Summing up his political contacts over the past two days with King Juan Carlos I of Spain, Spanish Premier Felipe Gonzales, Pope John Paul II and Italy's President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, President Ion Iliescu termed them as particularly positive for the exchange of ideas they occasioned, for the evaluation of Romania's bilateral relations and, maybe more important than anything and irrespective of the elections' results in Romania, for the wish of giving these relations substance and continuity.

President Iliescu Attends Expo '92 in Spain

WA1409183192

For reportage on the visit by Romanian President Ion Iliescu to Spain, including reports on his talks with King Juan Carlos and Premier Felipe Gonzales as well as Romanian National Day celebrations at Expo '92 in Sevilla, please see the Spain section of the 14 September West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

CD Candidate Constantinescu Takes Questions

AU0909184392

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 9 September carries a 40-minute studio program entitled "Candidates for the Presidency of Romania before the Electorate," the eighth of 18 scheduled live broadcasts with the six candidates registered for the 27 September presidential elections. Today's studio guest is Professor Emil Constantinescu, the presidential candidate of the Democratic Convention [CD]. An unidentified announcer says that the entire session will be devoted to answering listeners' questions.

Asked whether his conscience is clear, knowing that he is "the presidential candidate of the CD, which includes parties that were against the Constitution, the basic law of the Romanian state that a president should observe in its entirety," Constantinescu says that "his conscience is quite clear" because, as he has often said, he is "firmly determined to observe the Constitution, the laws, and the will of the nation." Nevertheless, since there are many "unilateral" interpretations, Constantinescu adds that the negative vote of some citizens during the 8 December 1991 referendum, "should not be interpreted as a vote against the idea of a constitution, or as meaning that those citizens will not observe it once it has been adopted by Parliament and endorsed by a referendum. The basic rule of democracy requires that the minority should subject itself to the will of the majority, and hence the Constitution will be observed without exception." Constantinescu denies that the negative vote in the referendum on the Constitution referred "only to the form of government." He says that some deputies objected to the fact that the "right to ownership is only protected, but not also guaranteed by the Constitution." Likewise, "opinions varied on formulations regarding the separation of powers in the state that, in the end, was not even included in the Constitution." Constantinescu says that the last chapters of the Constitution were "put together in a hurry, without due attention to detail," something that "creates confusion." Therefore, "there are enough reasons to justify criticism and possible initiatives to revise certain articles of the Constitution," which, however, "are not a president's prerogative."

In answer to several questions about the Constitution, Constantinescu refers to Paragraph One, Article One of the Constitution, which defines Romania as a "national, sovereign, independent, united, and indivisible state." In this respect, he says that this formulation "sanctions a reality and also an ideal of the Romanian people." Hence, "any other legal regulations concerning the rights of national minorities, the decentralization of public services, and the autonomy of local public administration authorities must set out from and be in accordance with these basic principles." Regarding Paragraph Two of Article One, "which stipulates that the type of government in the Romanian state is the republic," he says that "the formulation is unequivocal: Romania is a republic, the head of state is the president of Romania, and I am running in the 27 September elections, along with the other candidates, for this high position." As for Paragraph Three of Article 22 that bans the death sentence, he "opposes the reinstatement of the death sentence" as demanded by some people, including "even a presidential candidate." Regarding the possibilities of revising the Constitution, he emphasizes that a "president may initiate, after consulting Parliament, a referendum, through which the people can express their will on matters of national interest." Regarding the form of government, "which is not a principle, but the result of an option," Constantinescu says that "if the majority of parliamentarians deem it necessary to organize a referendum on another possible form of government—a parliamentary republic or a constitutional monarchy—I, if elected president, would not oppose this, since the clarification of this issue through a referendum would remove any doubts about the will of the majority of the population, would put an end to passionate and accusatory discussions, would make things clear, and would ensure stability in the country." A president must observe "any constitution resulting from the people's will."

Asked about his chances in the presidential elections, Constantinescu says that his electioneering tours and meetings with the electorate have "convinced me that I stand a good chance of winning the elections."

A Bucharest listener asks Constantinescu the following question: "Do you think the elections could be rigged so that Mr. Ion Iliescu wins a second mandate? In my opinion, he can only win a second mandate through electoral fraud." Constantinescu answers that he believes in the electorate's "obvious maturity" and in the "obvious progress of our institutions toward the state of law." Nevertheless, "the proper conduct of the elections depends, in the last instance, on the civic spirit of each one of us."

Asked his opinion about the "attacks against Romania at the two Budapest congresses in August," Constantinescu says that "a disproportionate significance was attached to these congresses" that "are devoid of any real importance." He sees a "difference between the Congress of Hungarians, where extremist opinions were rather isolated and cannot be a cause for worry to any serious political analyst, and the so-called Congress of Ardeal Inhabitants that issued a virulent, but infantile final document that was rejected as irresponsible by both the Hungarian Government and the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]. One can therefore assess the much trumpeted political earthquake in Budapest as a mere bluff and that nothing serious happened there." He adds that "if the Hungarians have their extremists, as is true, it is also true that we have our own extremists as well. Fortunately, nobody equates Romania with the Romania Mare Party. Therefore, in a spirit of fair play, I invite you to apply the same treatment to Hungary, while never giving up our own fight against extremism from wherever it may come."

In answer to a question about the granting of most favored nation status to Romania, Constantinescu says that he went to the United States to "uphold Romania's case before the House of Representatives and the Senate" and "has received assurances that it will be granted to us after 27 September."

Asked about the concrete meaning of CD's slogan about "the change," Constantinescu says that the "present CD mayors cannot do much with the National Salvation Front [FSN] legislation in force." He pleads for greater local autonomy, decentralization, and "new laws from the new Parliament to be elected."

In answer to various other questions, Constantinescu speaks out in favor of eliminating the "Ceausescu-decreed discrimination against army reserve officers with relatives abroad" and for subsidizing higher education for gifted children.

In conclusion, Constantinescu takes up Iliescu's recent electoral speech in Resita that "shocked him," particularly since, "at the beginning of the campaign, President Iliescu also called for moderation and promised honesty and truth." In that speech, Iliescu "flagrantly violated these principles and tried to sow panic and hatred among the electorate" by "raising the spectre of a so-called vengeance against innocent people" if the opposition wins. Constantinescu calls this maneuver "absurd, dangerous, and at variance with the dignity of a president still in office." Professor Constantinescu reiterates that "his only goal is to consolidate democracy and the state of law." He hopes that "nobody in today's or tomorrow's Romania will ever again be persecuted for their opinions" and reiterates his "trust in the force of the law and justice." He pleads for an "electoral struggle properly contested, with the winner being the whole Romanian people," and calls on President Ion Iliescu to "stay calm and not turn electoral confrontation into a desperate struggle for power." He concludes his brief statement with the following words: "I trust in the Romanians' wisdom and ability to think and do well."

Druc Answers Questions From Radio Listeners

AU1009193092

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 10 September carries a 40-minute studio program titled "Candidates for the Presidency of Romania Before the Electorate," the ninth of 18 scheduled live broadcasts with the six candidates registered in the 27 September presidential elections. Today's studio guest is independent candidate Mircea Druc.

An unidentified announcer says that Druc expressed the desire to begin with "certain clarifications of his concept of managerial reform," after which he will answer questions from listeners. Druc begins by stating that "managers are an active category of professionals," who can make a "great contribution to rebuilding the national economy." He sees Romania's "difficulties in adapting itself to the managerial revolution that has taken place in the world" as caused by the "preservation of outdated organizational structures, specific to centralized state ownership" and by the "insufficient involvement of managers in adopting major economic and political decisions and establishing democracy in Romania." Therefore, Druc wants to "elevate" the profession of manager, and he intends to "implement the managerial revolution in the Romanian economy."

After his introductory statement, Druc takes questions from listeners. In answer to a question, he says that a president should be "equidistant, independent, and ensure the rule of law," by "promoting a policy of detente and national understanding and forbidding any kind of witch-hunting."

Asked whether he has a "concrete and organized program for the reunification of the old Romanian territories, Bessarabia and Bukovina, with the mother country," Druc says that the "charter and platform of the national liberal movement called the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova" as well as the "programs of other political parties from Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia contain concrete elements for the country's reunification" and he, as well as other people, are "sparing no effort and doing their best to achieve this goal."

Answering another question, he gives assurances that he has the confidence of the West and can "improve Romania's image abroad." He believes that Romania's partial rejection by Europe is due to "bad luck" and to a "misunderstanding of Romanian circumstances." He thinks that Romania will eventually be able to convince the rest of Europe to accept it, "since it is our legitimate right, as we are here, in Europe, where God has placed us."

Asked about his opinion on nationalism, he says that he opposes chauvinism and is in favor of "healthy nationalism that does not infringe upon anybody else's rights."

Answering another question, Druc elaborates on his "economic recovery program," emphasizing the importance of the "human factor," that is "the managers, who should properly organize the production process" and "get the national production system out of its current deadlock" and the "people themselves, the producers of material and intellectual assets," who "can stop this decline and reorient the economy."

In conclusion, Druc presents "other elements of his electoral platform," dwelling on the need to "radically reform the educational-intellectual system," by "restructuring the educational and scientific research system" and "rebuilding the nation's creative skills and sponsoring the creators of intellectual values." In this respect, he suggests a "national program" to assist the young generation in its endeavors to "shape a future for themselves and not get disillusioned and leave the country."

Druc, Manzatu Make Campaign Statements

AU1109161492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1306 GMT 11 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/9/1992—As scheduled, the Romanian State Television included in its Thursday, 10 September program, a special broadcast featuring two of the candidates to the presidency of Romania, which the lots decided this time to be independent Mircea Druc and Republican Ioan Manzatu.

Mircea Druc

He first referred to the persecutions he had to endure, as a Romanian living under Soviet occupation in Bessarabia and the north of Bukovina, from the KGB political police. He did not exclude that "the duel with the KGB might still be going on", but expressed his hope that he will ultimately win.

About the Romanian communist regime's arbitrary measure to disband the faculty of psychology: The specialized institutions and magazines. Mr. Druc said not even the Stalinist regime went to such length in the USSR and that, in his opinion, psychology should be reinstated to its rights both as a science and a profession, as it is in all the advanced states. As a psychologist by profession, Mr. Druc assessed "the need for victory in order to gain victory" as a specific trait of the Romanians, a feature that should be corrected.

Mircea Druc opined that the granting of Romanian citizenship to Bessarabians who apply for it is one step towards the union but that the measure should apply to all the Romanians in the occupied territories, and quoted Germany as an example. He gave assurances that, if elected, he will propose negotiations with Russia for the retrocession of the Serpent Island (small island in the Black Sea, annexed by the USSR without any legal international coverage—editor's note) and the recuperation of Romania's thesaurus (still in Moscow since December 1918 when the Romanian Royal Government entrusted it to Tsarist Russia for safekeeping before the invasion of Bucharest by the German troops and never recuperated from the Soviet authorities), of all the Romanian national valuables, manuscripts and rare books and even of Stephen the Great's sword, now in Istanbul.

Describing his concepts of Romania's economic recovery, he deemed that "the managerial revolution" was the only way to concentrate the creative forces of the nation, and that he saw the relaunching of the economy as a starting point for the social and ethnic pacification of Romania, and for the country's reintegration.

Starting from the criterion that political parties should be based on political and not ethnic criteria, Mr. Druc thinks that, "as far as Romania is concerned, ethnic parties could however be accepted for this initial stage of our democracy, on condition that they respect the country's constitution and laws." He also thinks that in Romania, where the Romanians form an overwhelming proportion (90 per cent), there should be no ethnic issues, and that, if any, they should be treated by the principle "do not do to others what you do not like yourself".

Mr. Druc sees the matter of unemployment solved not by reducing retirement age, but by creating new jobs. Relative to crime, he proposes to fortify the state structures meant to fight against it, never forgetting that one should start by removing the causes of criminality. The same should be done about the National Army, to secure the country' integrity, but only in a spirit of military professionalism and political neutrality, with a career officer at its helm.

Ioan Manzatu

Remarking that the whole structure of scientific research and industrial design in Romania is in a state of total confusion, the candidate of the Republican Party (PR), a scientist himself, pleaded for higher investment in this sector as the only means to obtain real progress, a motion forward of the entire economic and social life.

He termed the treaty concluded after 1989 with the former USSR, on the brink of disintegration at that moment, as a great mistake, especially that the treaty posed conditions that clearly questioned Romania's wish to bring back to its trunk what had been snatched away. In his opinion, Romania should have acted like the Baltic countries, rather than haste "to recognize, in less than an hour, the independence of a Romanian territory that is an integral part of Romania," and allow the situation to complicate by the emergence of a second Romanian state.

Asked to refer to the issue of the tenants of nationalized buildings, Mr. Manzatu deemed that "we are witnessing a great injustice," that the dispossessed have a right to their properties, but that one injustice cannot be repaired by another one and therefore tenants should be assured that they would not be disturbed before the matter is solved adequately and equally fairly for both sides.

The Republican candidate brought further criticism to the acting president of Romania, reproaching him of not having made use of his special prerogatives for exceptional situations, one of them being his failure to ask Parliament to revoke former premier Roman in order to stop the decline of the Romanian economy.

As for the Landed Property Act, Mr. Manzatu sees in it a "historical necessity" and a law that has its good parts by that it returned the land to its lawful owners, but also abundant in shortcomings. Among them he quoted the restitution of former cooperative farm land to the peasants in the absence of the adequate tooling and traction means, they, too, confiscated during the forced collectivisation, which deprives the peasants of the technical means and the financial resources to buy them, while the aged in the rural communities are being abandoned to live in misery on their insignificant pensions.

Mr. Manzatu considered the office of president as the position from which the highest servant in the state should have a commanding view over the proper functioning of the public authorities, leave his door open to all those who need to signal dysfunctions of the state institutions, and see as a supreme state authority that justice is done.

Finally, the Republican candidate opined that, given the grave precedents in the history of the world, all candidates for the highest office and for any other key positions in the state, not only in Romania, but everywhere in the world, should accept a medical check-up of their psychic and physical condition," not forgetting to add that he felt in perfect health.

PUNR Candidate Funar Answers Questions

AU1109200992

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 11 September carries a 40-minute studio program entitled "Candidates for the Presidency of Romania Before the Electorate," the tenth of 18 scheduled live broadcasts with the six candidates registered for the 27 September presidential elections. Today's studio guest is Gheorghe Funar, the candidate of the Party of National Unity of Romanians [PUNR]. An unidentified announcer welcomes Funar for his second studio appearance and says that the listeners are anxious to ask their questions. Funar replies, "I am all for dialogue," before taking the first question, coming from Gabriel Berei, a Buzau citizen currently studying in Bucharest. He asks Funar for his answer to those who know that his "victory in the presidential race would give a free hand to nationalist extremists in Romania" and asks Funar whether he believes "that the danger of the federalization of Romania might come, paradoxically, only from an inflexible nationalist policy that could lead to intervention by international bodies, such as has happened in Yugoslavia and Iraq." Funar says that "this is a facile supposition you express, an attempt to divert the options of the electorate. Such journalistic maneuvers are specific to ROMANIA LIBERA, CUVINTUL, COTIDIANUL, DREPTATEA, and others that in an improper way support the UDMR (Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania) and the Democratic Convention. If I am elected president, there will not be any nationalist extremism in Romania because I am a public person who respects and stands by Romania's Constitution and the current laws. Their provisions leave no room for manifestations of extremism and xenophobia. Some manifestations of Hungarian extremism were possible in the past because the laws of the Romanian state were not firmly respected. If I am elected president of Romania, there will be no danger of this country being federalized, an idea supported by the extremist leaders of the UDMR and of the Hungarian diaspora. For me, Article Number One of the country's Constitution, namely that Romania is a national unitary state, is a sacred thing, just as the reunification of the country is a sacred and honorable duty for me, as a Romanian. Those who are spreading the ideas that you refer to, are inventing them for one reason only. They know that if I become president, the law will have its say regarding all the crimes committed by them. I have only one belief: there is only one solution to the chaos and lack of authority in Romania, and that is the reestablishment of legality and order, the reestablishment of the rule of law."

Retired technician Chisu Simion from Cluj asks Funar that if he really observes the Constitution, why did he make two decisions in Cluj that were attacked by the Cluj prefect for being anticonstitutional. The same person also asks Funar whether, if he becomes president, he will respect the Constitution just as he did as mayor of Cluj, and also asks him why he is "ashamed to admit" that he lectured on scientific socialism at the Cluj Agricultural Institute.

In connection with the decisions he made in his capacity as mayor, Funar says that "none of them were legally contested by the prefect," "only after the UDMR interfered" did some dispute in connection with it come from the Prefect's Office. However Funar says that his decisions, referring to the use of the Hungarian language and the ban on public rallies, "are perfectly legal and were not overruled" but that "some of the media distorted this issue" because "some journalists do not know the law." To the second question Funar answers that he has never lectured on scientific socialism at the aforementioned institute. He lectured only on "agricultural accountability and agrarian law."

A Bucharest Professor, Eugen Bunica, says that Funar in a BBC interview mentioned that "the presidential institution has a legislative role. Do we have to understand that future president Funar will bring us to a presidential dictatorship, that is, a personal dictatorship, just like Ceausescu, and have you just displayed your embarrassing political illiteracy? Why do you deny that you were a Romanian Communist Party propagandist at the students' ideological lectures? Do you continue to deny this fact even on Romanian radio in the same way you did to the BBC?"

Funar answers that "It is a pity that some people who ask me questions over the radio display so much evil. But to answer this very biased question, this attempt to hit below the belt—as far as presidential dictatorship is concerned, unfortunately our Constitution does not clearly indicate the separation of power, there is a certain ambiguity about it, and so there is room for interpretation regarding the president's position vis-a-vis the three branches of government: the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary. Taking into consideration that the president of the country promulgates laws and has both the possibility and the obligation to refer back to Parliament certain normative acts that have been presented for promulgation for further debate. In the interview with the BBC, I expressed my viewpoint about the president's role, saying that the "president is mostly inclined toward

the legislative" but "also has the legal possibility to participate in government meetings and even chair these meetings."

About being a PCR [Communist Party of Romania] propagandist, Funar says: "I believe that our listener wants to help me by raising me to the political and ideological level of the candidate of the Democratic Convention, Professor Emil Constantinescu, who was secretary in charge of propaganda at Bucharest University. I was a student adviser, and as such I also participated in the political and ideological lectures that were organized with students." Thus, "I was not a propagandist at political and ideological lectures and regrettably I have no chance to compete with Mr. Emil Constantinescu's in this respect."

An unemployed woman from Bucharest asks Funar about the situation of the unemployed. Funar says "If I am elected president, I am convinced that we will succeed in implementing our program" and "by relaunching economic activity in Romania and by putting into operation the existing production capacities and taking up the agricultural activity, we will ensure work for unemployed people. They will have jobs and only those who do not want to work will be unemployed."

A Bucharest resident and assistant engineer at Otopeni Airport, asks Funar what is more important: "human rights or the rights of people." He also asks Funar about his idea regarding nationalized industrial capacity and about the situation of tenants in state-owned houses. Funar says that the issue of "collective human rights does not find solutions in international law and in international conventions" and "in Romania we cannot accept such a principle of a people's rights, because as a matter of fact, there are only individual rights, just as there is individual responsibility. If theoretically we accepted the concept of the rights of a people, we could go further and discuss the responsibilities of a people, and such collective responsibility existed only in communist, totalitarian regimes." Thus "I speak out for individual human rights and against collective rights." As far as the second question is concerned, he says that he wants "a modification of the privatization law" and "a modification of the law that allows sales of assets to Romanian and foreign citizens." As far as tenants are concerned, Parliament is currently discussing this law. Funar is in favor of "the purchase of those dwellings by those who currently live in them."

A Bucharest citizen, after praising Funar's program, asks him how he is planning to "cope with the shameful and criminal nationalism that is damaging to the Romanian people, as practiced and propagated by Vadim Tudor and Paunescu (ROMANIA MARE and EUROPA editors). Funar says that "in Romania I have met very many sympathizers" of these two journalists. "In an authentic democracy each citizen is free to express his opinions. However, when one talks about the issue of nationalism, things change radically, because nobody should be allowed to make jokes about this issue or to minimize its importance, as they do in the Democratic Convention and the UDMR. Nationalism is not criminal or damaging for the Romanian people." "Nationalism can be only extremist and chauvinistic. The best example is Hungarian extremism that is aimed at eliminating the national feelings of other nations and at forceably assimilating them. The Magyar-mania was and continues to be xenophobic, extreme nationalist, and chauvinistic. To call Romanians extremists and chauvinistic is a mistake and an exaggeration. The Romanians have always defended their national identity, integrity, and the country's independence. If this means nationalism, then you can also consider me a nationalist, but a reasonable nationalist who is identified with patriotism. The nationalistic, chauvinistic sentiments of the UDMR are receiving a vigorous reply from the publications edited by Corneliu Vadim Tudor and Adrian Paunescu."

A Cluj engineer asks Funar whether he thinks that the name "Cluj" is Hungarian, when it was a Roman name, and what has to be done to restore a "civilized appearance" to Romanian towns. About the name Cluj, Funar says that "since I am a law-abiding person, I like to use the name Cluj-Napoca" decided upon by a legal procedure. He says that "there is no legal ground in our country to translate the name of Romanian localities into the language of ethnic minorities" in the way some Hungarian publications try to. As far as urban matters are concerned, he says that such things belong to local administrative bodies and enumerates some activities that he pressed for in order to clean up the municipality.

A Bucharest citizen asks Funar whether he prefers planned communism to capitalism. Funar answers that he prefers "decentralization, correlated with state control in important economic sectors, as is the case in every developed state with a market economy. Planning at national level is needed, as in Japan today." He is "against wild capitalism that leads to an excessive polarization of society and the appearance of great discrepancies between various social categories." He is "for socialist justice and respect for legality" and for "a market economy based on private and public property, rationally and efficiently structured, so as to ensure a high standard of living for the Romanian people."

After the announcer wishes Funar a pleasant weekend, the program ends at 1640 GMT.

PR Candidate Manzatu Answers Listeners' Questions

AU1409172892

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 14 September carries a 40-minute studio program entitled "Candidates for the Presidency of Romania Before the Electorate," the 11th of 18 scheduled live broadcasts with the six candidates registered for the 27 September presidential elections. Today's studio guest is Professor Ioan Manzatu, the candidate of the Republican Party [PR]. An unidentified

announcer welcomes Manzatu to his second studio appearance and says that today's session will be "mainly" devoted to answering questions from listeners.

Asked about the failure of the post-revolutionary governments to deal with the "chaotic state of the economy," Manzatu says that neither the Roman nor the Stolojan governments managed to deal with the "root causes" of the downfall of the national economy and "to become properly involved with the intimate aspects of the economy," so as to stop this downfall, "at a time when the state is practically the sole owner." He thinks that the two cabinets should be held responsible for their failure.

Asked about his opinion of the "true nature of the December 1989 events," and "whether they amounted to a revolution, coup d'etat, or counterrevolution," he says that despite all possible "scenarios," those events basically amounted to a "popular movement," that "first asked for the overthrow of a dictatorship, then for the overthrow of the Ceausescu couple, and eventually for the overthrow of communism itself."

Asked whether he is in favor of recreating the old Autonomous Hungarian Region, Manzatu says: "No, that was a concoction of the communist occupation regime in Romania," that "did a lot of damage to the cause of coexistence between the Hungarians and Romanians in Romania."

After answering questions about the need to increase old-age pensions, improve "both the private and the social" health care systems, and protect the national cultural patrimony in general, Manzatu is asked whether "he thinks things were better in Ceausescu's time, given the current 15 percent unemployment level." He answers by emphasizing that "we now have the freedom of thought and a multiparty system," and that "despite the amateurism and mistakes of the previous cabinets, we now have the chance to improve things" and "implement the reform." Asked whether he has the "necessary energy to revitalize the national economy so that it reaches at least the 1989 level," Manzatu says that that should only be a "minimum target," and he proceeds to talk about the merits of the reform process in general and about the need to "protect the national income" and "only export the production surplus, not what is needed for domestic consumption," to "halt the economic decline, continue with the restructuring process, and protect the national wealth."

In conclusion, Professor Manzatu expresses his hope for a "civilized and fair electoral campaign, without calumnies and slanders."

Austria, Hungary Accused of Violating Arms Embargo

LD1109220392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 92

[Report by Jozsef Klemm from Novi Sad]

[Text] The chief of staff of the Serb Army in Bosnia has accused Austria and Hungary of illegal arms shipments. The chief of staff expounds the charges in a letter sent to General Satish Nambiar, commander of the UN peace-keeping force in Yugoslavia.

The chief of staff allegedly has evidence that in early September, four ships were loaded in the duty-free zone of the Danube River port of Vienna with infantry weapons, surface-to-air missiles, and armored transport vehicles. The ships, under Hungarian flags, sailed toward Budapest. From there, the weapons were transported to Bosnia through Croatia. Allegedly, this is only part of the arms shipments they want to get to Bosnia to arm the approximately 100,000-strong Muslim army. So far, about 60,000 Muslim volunteers have received weapons from abroad, the chief of staff of the Serb Army in Bosnia claims.

Gen. Nambiar was also informed that the Croatian Army is withdrawing its heavy arms from the areas under UN supervision, with the excuse that it is taking the cannons and tanks for repairs, whereas it is sending these weapons to the Muslims in Bosnia.

The Bosnian Serbs have demanded that the general pass on this information to the UN secretary general in order to achieve a strict observance of the arms embargo.

Presidency Explains Decision To Boycott Talks

LD1409131692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1220 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 14 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the ex-Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which has no legally elected Serb representatives, announced on Monday [14 September] it will not go to the peace talks in Geneva which are scheduled to open on Friday.

The explanation for the refusal to attend the Geneva talks, which are a continuation of the international conference on Yugoslavia held in London in late August, is that the Serbs in Bosnia failed to meet the conditions of the agreement on United Nations' suprevision of heavy weaponry.

The representatives of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) confirmed on Saturday that the Bosnia Serbs have placed their heavy artillery surrounding four Bosnian towns under UNPROFOR control in keeping with the agreement and before the expiration of the set deadline.

News agency REUTER, on the basis of reports by Muslim-Croat controlled Sarajevo Radio, says that it is unclear whether the Bosnian Presidency's decision to boycott the Geneva talks is only a threat or a firm resolve.

The five-member Bosnian Presidency issued a statement, which was carried by the Sarajevo press, saying it had sent a message to the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference on Yugosalvia—Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen—informing them that "the Geneva talks are absurd as long as the current situation continues."

The statement was signed by Presidency president and Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, who was set to head his delegation in Geneva.

The Presidency said its decision was set off by the latest alleged attacks by the Serb forces who, it claims, are supported by the Yugoslav Federal Army.

Although Izetbegovic constantly blames the Bosnia Serbs for the continuation of the fighting, over the past twenty days the Muslim forces launched a major offensive in Sarajevo and other parts of Bosnia aiming to sieze better strategic positions prior to the continuation of the Geneva talks.

The Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia withdrew from Bosnia-Hercegovina in late May, while some 50,000 members of the regular army of neighbouring Croatia are fighting along with the Muslim-Croat forces against the Bosnia Serbs.

Yugoslav Premier Milan Panic, in a drive to convince the international public that the charges of an alleged aggression by the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Bosnia are unjustified, proposed at the conference in London that international monitors be positioned along the Yugoslav-Bosnian border.

Serb Commander Accuses Croatia of Deploying Troops

LD1409152292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1258 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Text] Banja Luka, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—General Ratko Mladic, commander of the main headquarters of the Army of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], has accused the Republic of Croatia of deploying 36 brigades on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to SRNA news agency, Mladic said in Banja Luka late last night that the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina could end very quickly and its peoples could reach an agreement about internal organization only if the regular Croatian Army withdraws [from Bosnia-Hercegovina].

Speaking about the placing of Serb artillery around Sarajevo and other towns under UNPROFOR supervision, Mladic explained that it does not mean that the Serb side will not open fire if attacked.

As Mladic stressed, Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina have no intention of taking a single Muslim or Croat village or town, but neither will they allow Serb territories to be conquered.

Proposal To Demilitarize Airport Area Accepted

LD1409170492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Sep (TANJUG)—The SRNA news agency has reported that the Serb side today accepted a proposal to demilitarize an area of at least 1,000 meters around Sarajevo airport. The agency says that General Husayn al-Raziq, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander in Sarajevo, and Colonel Galic, commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the army of the Serb Republic, agreed on the proposal in Lukavica today.

The demilitarization of the area around Sarajevo airport should provide a permanent solution on using the airport to deliver humanitarian aid to the town.

It is not clear from the SRNA report whether the Muslim side accepted the proposal to demilitarize the area around the airport.

The opening of a corridor for the free departure of citizens from Sarajevo for Belgrade and Split was discussed at the meeting as well. The agency does not say whether an agreement to that effect was reached or not.

Decision To Establish Croatian Community Overruled

LD1409214492 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Text] The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina held a session today. On the basis of Article 387, Paragraph 1, Point 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Constitutional Amendment 77, Point 1, and Article 72, Point 3 of the book of procedure of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Constitutional Court, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Constitutional Court today passed a decision proclaiming null and void a decision on the establishment of the Croatian Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina, dated 18 November 1991, as well as a series of other decisions and regulations by the Community.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Constitutional Court concluded at today's session that the decision to establish the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia and the decision on changes and amendments to the decision to establish the Croatian Herceg-Bosnia Community are not in accordance with the Constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina and that these decisions change the political and territorial organization of municipalities that, in line with the Constitution, can be regulated only in accordance with the law, and are therefore illegal. Other decisions and regulations adopted on 3 July 1992 are within the exclusive competence of the Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] and municipalities at the level provided for by the Constitution and the law. Therefore, according to the conclusion of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Constitution, they are not in accordance with the Constitution and the law.

The Constitutional Court deems that these decisions would not be in accordance with the Constitution even if they referred to a community of municipalities. As the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is internationally recognized as an independent and sovereign state, while the Croatian Herceg-Bosnia Community has some elements of statehood, particularly in terms of executive, administrative, and judicial authorities, ownership rights, and armed forces on the very territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Constitutional Court proclaimed the mentioned decisions and regulations null and void.

Serbs Accused of London Accord Violation

AU1509093692 Paris AFP in English 0849 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Sept 15 (AFP)—The Bosnian capital was relatively calm early Tuesday [15 September] following a day of fierce combat that left at least 19 dead and more than 100 wounded.

The cool, early morning air was split by the crack of sniper fire, the occasional machine gun burst and a few shells.

But most residents were breathing easier after Monday's fighting, in which Sarajevo was pounded with the most intense artillery barrages in weeks.

The latest round of fighting appeared to call into question a London Conference agreement by which the Serbs were to group their artillery at 11 sites under U.N. surveillance.

It came hours before the U.N. Security Council authorized the dispatch of several thousand additional U.N. peacekeeping troops to help protect humanitarian operations in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The commander of the French contingent of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), Colonel Armel Davout, said artillery was fired Monday from seven of the 11 Serbian sites being monitored, but also from at least 10 undeclared locations, which he termed a violation of the London accord.

There were varying accounts Tuesday of what had transpired here Monday.

Some sources said the Bosnians started the exchange by firing several shells at Serbian positions in the hills from howitzers hidden in basement ramps of the Olympic Stadium, which is only a few hundred meters from the city's northern front.

Col. Davout appeared to lend credence to those reports when, in an unusual admission, he acknowledged that artillery fire had come from both sides, although he declined to be more specific.

Another thesis was that the shelling, accompanied by a tank-backed Serb infantry assault across a key front on the city's southern flank, was part of a greater design to bifurcate the capital and decimate Bosnian control.

Sources here said the suddeness of the outbreak of Monday's shelling, accompanied by almost simultaneous

air strikes to the north by planes from a Yugoslav Federal Air Force base in Banja Luka, pointed to a coordinated offensive.

Sarajevo radio had reported air strikes Monday on Bihac, Cazin and Slavonski Brod. The towns lie within a strategic land corridor which the new Yugoslav government is reportedly trying to secure between Belgrade and Serbian controlled areas in the west near the Adriatic coast.

Monday's fighting quickly spread throughout the Bosnian capital, with artillery and mortar shells falling in virtually all sectors and tanks firing cannon point blank at several high-rise buildings near the city center.[passage omitted]

Muslims Reportedly Attack Serbian Positions

AU1409170692

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 14 September carries its regular 35-minute newscast that includes several reports about fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In his report from Sarajevo, Risto Djogo says that "an attack by Muslim Green Berets on the western section of the battlefield in Sarajevo has been going on for about 20 hours. Rajlovac and the village of Osijek are being fiercely pounded by artillery weapons, and the operations are spreading toward Dobrinja Four and Lukavica. This morning, there were some attacks in the direction of Grbavica, too. According to what Serbian military sources have learned, what is involved is the beginning of an all-out offensive by Muslim military units on all Serbian defense positions in Sarajevo. According to these sources, this is the strongest operation so far that is aimed at linking Muslim territories with Croatian territories. The Serbian side is ready for this announced offensive, we were told at the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps Command.

"(Abdul Razik), commander of the Sarajevo Blue Helmets, was informed about all this. In talks with him about all tasks ensuing from the London resolutions, the Serbian side accepted the demilitarization of a 1,000-meter band around the airport so that the humanitarian aid may be delivered without problems."

Reporting from Hercegovina battlefield, Jelena Dabarcic says: "Offensive activities by the regular units of the Army of the Republic of Croatia on the Serbian defense positions in the Trebinje Commune continue. Apart from intensive fire opened from heavy weapons and unsuccessful infantry attempts at breaking through the defense line, yesterday afternoon the Ustashas used some unidentified gases. Serbian military sources reported this morning that it can be assumed that these were chemical agents [bojni otrov], which only confirms that the Croatian side is not choosy about its methods to reach its goal of occupying as much of the Serbian territory as possible and penetrating toward Trebinje."

Correspondent Ratomir Milovic reports from Rudo that "peace is reigning in the region where the Lim River flows into the Drina River. The reason lies partly in the fact that after several days of war, Serbian fighters from Rudo and Visegrad managed to foil the Muslim army's intention to take the Visegrad Hydroelectric Power Plant."

In his report about the fighting in the Bihac Region, correspondent Milan Pantovic says that "not even the presence of the UNPROFOR officers, who are posted at the Serbian positions around Bihac to control Serbian army artillery, prevented mojahedin from Bihac from launching waves of attacks at Serbian positions around the town. The fiercest fighting has been waged in the suburban district of Golubic, where six fighters of the Serbian Republic army were killed and a dozen were seriously or lightly wounded. More than 50 fighters have been killed so far, and several dozens wounded on the Muslim side.

"Just as in their attacks in the past, the Muslims are again using the medieval castle of Sokolac as a position for their 120-mm mortars and heavy weapons received from Turkey, and from there they pound into the depth of the Serbian territory."

Artillery, 'Chemical Agents' Used in Attack

AU1409113792 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Enisa Lojevic-Hadzihasnovic report]

[Text] We are reporting from the Novo Sarajevo Press Service at 1240. Artillery and light arms fire from Vraca and Grbavica are at a lower intensity. In the last two hours, aggressor tanks and infantry have been pounding Hrasno, Pero Kosoric Square, and the community of Ivan Krndelj.

Hum was a target in the Velesici area. Chemical agents [bojni otrov] were also dropped in this part of town. As far as we can see, skyscrapers in the square are on fire again. The situation is fierce at Novo Sarajevo road intersections.

We do not have precise information regarding casualties.

TANJUG Reports Croatian, Muslim Conflicts

LD1409214292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1936 GMT 14 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bileca, September 14 (TANJUG)—There was fierce fighting on all fronts in Hercegovina on Monday [14 September], said the Command of the Hercegovina Corps of the Army of the Serbian Republic, in Bileca.

An offensive by the regular units of the Croatian Army is still in progress on the front in Trebinje. Serbian-held positions and settlements in Popovo Polje have come under artillery and mortar fire.

Serbian fighters did not allow any changes of the front-line on Monday.

On the Mostar front, Croatian-Muslim forces occasionally opened mortar fire against Serbian positions in the Podvelezje and Vranjevic areas, said Serbian military sources.

There is more and more information from towns in Hercegovina of conflicts between members of the Croatian and Muslim armies. In a battle between two sabotage groups which lasted three hours, 18 members of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) were killed.

Clashes erupted in Prozor after Muslims took goods valued at 12,000 deutsche marks which had been earmarked for the HVO.

Cafes and pubs have opened in Stolac even though there are daily skirmishes between groups of Croatian and Muslim youths.

The Orthodox cemetery in Stolac has been razed to the ground.

In Prozor, a Bosnian municipality in the neighbourhood of western Hercegovina, the local education authorities have decided that programmes and books in primary schools will be based on those in Croatia. The Party of Democratic Action (SDA) executive board protested sharply and said that Muslim children would not attend schools following programmes from another state.

The SDA in the municipality of Vitez (in the vicinity of Sarajevo—capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina) reacted in a similar manner last week.

Even though the majority population in Vitez is Muslim, all the authority is in the hands of the Croats. All signs, documents, symbols and money come from Croatia.

'Anti-Croat Behavior' by Bosnian Army Protested

LD1309191392 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Sep 92

[Text] We wish to inform the domestic and world public that the Croatian population of Sarajevo and, more specifically, of Stup have been the victims of a crime, the Stup Headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] says in a statement. Despite our warnings addressed to the most responsible representatives of the authority of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina that no badly-planned or improvised and suicidal combat actions against the enemy should be undertaken from Croat territory under the control of the Sarajevo HVO, the representatives of the authorities have been doing precisely that for some time now.

The latest and most drastic example of anti-Croat behavior perpetrated by the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is an incident that is still going on. It began on 12 September at about four o'clock [as heard] when members of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina attacked the residential district of Doglodi, which is within the zone of responsibility of the Sarajevo HVO and which borders a territory occupied by the enemy forces, the statement says.

Shortly after provoking the incident, the members of the Armed Forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina withdrew from their positions and, as in previous cases, Croatian houses and industrial facilities came under shell fire. At this time, we have no details about casualties or damage, but it can be said with certainty that the situation is tragic from this aspect, the statement says.

On several occasions we have asked the Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities not to allow combat actions to be launched from Croat-held territory, as these are of no use, but always have tragic consequences for the Croat population. The Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities have turned a deaf ear to our demands, however, and are, in fact, doing their utmost to shift the battlefront to Croat territory, although it is of no strategic advantage. As a result, Croat lives and territory are being lost.

In reaction to these events, a sharp protest has been lodged with the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Sarajevo.

Croat Council Accuses Muslims of Ethnic Cleansing

LD1209050992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0839 GMT 11 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 11 (TANJUG)—The command of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) in Stup near Sarajevo has accused the Moslem forces of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina of carrying out ethnic cleansing in the Croat-populated areas and looting Croatian storehouses.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES on Friday [11 September] carries excerpts from Zagreb newspapers which on Thursday published a dramatic warning of the command of the armed forces of Bosnian Croats in Stup that the Moslem forces "are setting ablaze, destroying and looting Croat houses in the region of Stup." The warning said the Moslem forces had in the past several days occupied the area within the HVO control and "took away seven million German marks worth of goods from a storehouse."

The HVO said it "is unable to counter the aggression of Moslems who until yesterday were their allies." It asked for help of the media in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, the daily said. The Moslem forces "are planning to move out Croats from their century-old homes, as early as next week," said the HVO.

The HVO command does not support the military pact between Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Moslem leader of Bosnia-Hercegovina Izetbegovic, the Belgrade daily explains. Two months ago, Izetbegovic and Tudjman made an agreement on military cooperation against Bosnian Serbs.

Air Force Base Destroyed by Serb 'Terrorists'

LD1409094992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 14 Sep 92

[Text] At approximately 0300, Serb terrorists mined a part of the civilian runway at the Zemunik Air Force Base [former Yugoslav Air Force base near the city of Zadar]. A strong explosion damaged the runway which is not fit for use anymore. During the last few days, chetniks mined or burned down scores of Croatian houses in the occupied parts of the Zadar area. They have also been setting nearby forests on fire. It is presumed that the enemy soldiers have been frequently destroying and looting the property because the day of their departure from the so-called pink zones is approaching. Talks [UNPROFOR sponsored] on this matter are entering the final stage.

Vinkovci Attacked; Serbs Siphoning Oil From Tanks

LD1309125692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1205 GMT 13 Sep 92

[Text] The Vinkovci region has again come under Serbian attack. Positions of the Croatian Army have come under small arms fire and houses belonging to Croatians have been set alight. The command of the Croatian Army in Vinkovci states that Serbians have been siphoning oil from tanks in the area that is under the control of the Russian UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] battalion. Up to two or three tanks a day are being siphoned and there is a chance that they may have been destroying the tanks.

Exchanges of Artillery Fire Reported

LD1109141392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 11 Sep 92

[Text] The Croatian Army in the Nova Gradiska zone of responsibility is on guard because the Serbian Army is regrouping and digging itself in along the Bosnian bank of the river Sava. It is sporadically opening fire from infantry weapons and firing tracer shells from the village of [word indistinct] in the Nova Gradiska area near Sava. The chetniks of Bosanski Kobas and Bosanski Dubocac are launching artillery and mortar attacks on the Western part of the Slavonski Brod area.

The Croatian Army has responded to these attacks by destroying two enemy trucks carrying ammunition, one all-terrain vehicle, a tanker, an armored personnel carrier, and a tank.

[Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English at 1205 GMT on 11 September additionally reports that a "general alert" has been in effect since 0900 for the Slavonski Brod region "due to artillery attacks from Serbian forces located across the Sava river in Bosnia." There was no information available about casualties. Croatian Defense Council forces in Brcko reportedly "repelled several ground offensives" by Serbian forces, inflicting "heavy losses" according to the report.]

Croatia Joins Inter-Parliamentary Union

LD1209053192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1205 GMT 11 Sep 92

[Text] At the 88th conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Croatia, along with six other countries, became a member country. The organization with 118 members is holding its meeting this week in Stockholm.

Social Liberal Party Leader on Current Situation

92BA1383D Zagreb NOVI DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 24 Aug 92 pp 14-17

[Article including interview with Drazen Budisa, chairman of Croatian Social Liberal Party, by Jelena Lovric; place and date not given: "We Are Plunging Into Catastrophe"—first paragraph is NOVI DANAS introduction]

[Text] "One of the main motives for my candidacy was my conviction that I can establish a national consensus, which Franjo Tudjman has not managed to do. I was afraid that if we did not win a significant number of votes, then political conflicts in Croatia would begin to be resolved on the street," says the leader of the strongest opposition party in Croatia.

About a month ago we wrote that Drazen Budisa is the moral winner of this year's elections. He has remained that. Although it appeared that he could be more than that, the official results fell short of expectations. But the respectability of his number-two finish is imbued with the extremely principled way in which it was won. Now that the excitement of the elections is over and the candidates have caught their breath, we spoke in peace with the chairman of the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS], which has become the biggest, and probably the most influential opposition party in parliament. To begin, we asked how Budisa would evaluate the outcome of the elections and what role he sees for his party in the future Assembly.

[Budisa] On the whole, we are not satisfied with the results of the elections, although we cannot say the same thing about our party. The Assembly will once again be a single-party body, and the opposition will once again lack significant influence. We will do everything we can to make our voice heard, but we clearly have no illusions about our arguments carrying any weight during voting. But that does not mean that we will be some sort of new SDP [Party of Democratic Changes]. We will not be as constructive, as they put it, in relation to the ruling party. We will be more critical, more resolute, although naturally as the main opposition party will have to consider overall interests and the position of the Croatian state. In any event, these elections were poorly prepared for and

organized. I am not questioning their overall regularity, but never again should elections organized in this way be repeated in Croatia.

[Lovric] To what exactly are you referring?

[Budisa] I am referring to lots of things. Immediately after the elections were called, we sent the republican election commission, or rather the Constitutional Court, a letter asserting that some citizens would not be able to participate in the elections—we argued this point using the example of Croats from Cavtat and Konavalo. We sent another series of complaints, petitions, and letters to the same authorities, and the response to nearly all of them was negative. I am also referring to the lack of technical preparations for the elections, to the lack of preparations with voter registration lists, to the fact that ballots were distributed by printing houses; I am also referring to the fact that it was not possible to supervise the course of voting in every precinct, to the fact that the voter registration lists included people who have long since died, and to the instances of ballots being out on the street. Or to the case brought up by the HDS [Croatian Democratic Party] of Zadar where a shipment of marked ballots arrived at a private address. I have been contacted by people from individual precincts where we did not receive a single vote who say that they did vote for me. But despite all this, the HSLS on the whole does not question the regularity of these elections, guided by its higher interests, among other things.

[Lovric] What are these higher interests?

[Budisa] Aware of its position, the HSLS has never wanted to generate political chaos in Croatia. Nor will do that in the future. I have already said that from the beginning we have been something like hostages to HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] rule, and it appears that that will continue to be our fate for some time.

[Lovric] To what extent did the opposition err in its election tactics?

[Budisa] I cannot speak on behalf of the entire opposition. We are now the most powerful opposition party, but we are not for that reason the party most responsible for the status of democracy in Croatia among those that managed to assert who they are. As far as our party is concerned, I especially want to emphasize the fact that from the beginning we have been open to the possibility of boycotting the elections. Aside from that, confronted with the pitfalls of the election law, we decided at our party's grand council to cooperate with the HNS [Croatian People's Party] in the majority of the election. We decided to offer them 35 precincts and keep 25 for ourselves. But the HNS, underestimating our strength and overestimating its own, rejected this cooperation.

[Lovric] To what extent is it true that you parted ways on the question of the presidential candidate? That you were unwilling to step aside in favor of the candidacy of Savka Dabcevic Kucar?

[Budisa] I cannot confirm that. There was a proposal that I withdraw my candidacy for president and that during the preelection campaign I be affirmed as the mandatary for the composition of the Croatian government, and that in this way we run Ms. Savka Dabcevic Kucar as the sole counter-candidate to Tudjman. However, I must say that these proposals did not formally come from the leadership of the HNS. Naturally I rejected this, because I was convinced that I would be second. I was a little less certain, but I also believed that I would make it to the second round. When I declared in the preelection campaign that I would be a better president than the other candidates, that was not simply a matter of preelection tactics, but rather my deep conviction, which has remained with me to this day. One of the main motives for my candidacy was my conviction that I can establish a national consensus, which Franjo Tudjman has not managed to do. Among other things, I was certain, for example, that I would square relations with both the HOS [Croatian Defense Force—military wing of Croatian Rights Party] and the Croatian Rights Party within the framework of the form of the political system. In the past I have said many times, albeit in the closed circle of our party's leadership, that I am afraid that if we do not win a significant number of votes, then political conflicts in Croatia will begin to be resolved on the street. What happened in Krusevo shows in fact that things are going in that direction. I have been in contact with many prominent foreign figures, with a large number of ambassadors, and I can repeat their conviction that an HSLS victory would contribute to an increase in Croatia's reputation and to a reinforcement of its international position. The victory by the HDZ and Dr. Franjo Tudjman will preserve the status quo for I do not know how long. But it is obvious to everyone that a victory by the radical Right would mean Croatia's international isolation.

[Lovric] Paraga reacted to this statement of yours about the Right. He believes that the only solution for Croatia was in fact a victory by them?

[Budisa] I do not see any danger in Croatia from the Croatian extreme Left, and thus not from any Left whatsoever, which has been shattered, has baggage, and will need a lot of time to recuperate and consolidate. But it is a fact—and an understandable one—that the radical rightwing options are on the rise. And as they have become stronger, suspicions have grown about the political process in Croatia, even among our friends. Croatia has never emerged victorious with such ideas, nor can it do so. I said that openly during the preelection campaign as well, even though I was aware that we would lose some potential voters because of it, but during the preelection campaign we wanted to preserve our image as a liberal party. Paraga's rightwing option is the legitimate child of the HDZ and Franjo Tudjman. It sprang up in this void when the radical national rhetoric was not followed by deeds. And this rhetoric was introduced to Croatian political life by the HDZ or, to be more precise, certain people from the HDZ. Only for this very political party,

in the person of Stipe Mesic, to now accuse the radical Right, or rather Paraga's party and the HOS, of venting enemy, i.e., Chetnik interests.

[Lovric] The same sources allege that Paraga is working for the CIA?

[Budisa] I know Paraga very well; I have known him since he was 16. Paraga is working neither for the CIA nor for the Chetniks. I accept the theory that he actually did the most for Tudjman during the preelection period, unintentionally of course. Just as he has possibly unintentionally helped Croatia's enemies at some time. But let us not forget that those who regaled Le Pen did the same thing. However, the HOS units are still fighting against the Chetniks. But I am concerned about the statement by Stipe Mesic, who as leader of the ruling party announces persecution of the leadership of the Rights Party. Specifically, the other day he said that one should look into whether they can even stay in Zagreb. I do not know whether that was a threat of banishment or a threat of court action, but what is any party leader doing threatening anyone? I think that the problem of the HOS and Paraga can be resolved through incorporation into political institutions. And as far as Bosnia-Hercegovina is concerned, I support the creation of joint armed forces consisting of both the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the HOS, if necessary with a new name and a joint command which would be within the framework of the armed forces of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina].

[Lovric] That means recognizing the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Budisa] Of course recognizing the integrity of Bosnia, despite the fact that to a large part it has been ethnically cleansed. Although this now lends more realism to the policy that many people here have supported from the very outset: a partition of B-H along ethnic borders, which would have to be to the disadvantage of the majority nation there, the Muslims. Still, I am convinced that this policy will not fare well, because that would mean that the West—and I am thinking here primarily of the United States—has submitted to the Milosevic option, from which some ruling circles in Croatia are not very far removed either. If some Western circles are perhaps even using Serbian imperialism to thwart, once and for all, the supposed danger of a so-called Islamic state being created, or rather of an Islamic wedge in Europe being formed, then this will not be the policy of the United States, which will consider its global interests. Europe has proven to be powerless in resolving the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, so that ultimately the United States will make the most essential moves, and it will not risk conflict with the entire Islamic world by satisfying the aspirations of two national communities in B-H against the third one.

I still think that it is realistic to expect B-H to be preserved as a state. It is dangerous to pursue the policy that wants to say that the Muslims are definitively defeated and that for that reason we cannot build our political interests on that foundation. Following that train of thought, there is talk now in Zagreb about fundamentalism and an Islamic state. For 15 years Greater Serbian policy has sounded the alarm about the danger of Islamic fundamentalism, only for us to see now that even our president accepts this. And this at a time when even the Holy Father is raising a voice of protest against the massacres of Muslims. I do not see this danger. In any event—to be completely definite—I maintain the position of preserving B-H as an independent and sovereign state of three equal nations, regionally organized, which respects the ethnic map of B-H as it was before the war, with a chamber of nations in which outvoting is not possible. I think that the actions of the international community will go in this direction, so that Croatian policy will have to adapt to this as well. If we sit around waiting for a partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina, that could lead to international condemnation of us. If we were to go to the London conference with a plan for changing borders, then we should not be surprised if others propose changes in our borders as well.

[Lovric] The United States is far away and slow, while the horror in Bosnia-Hercegovina is taking place terribly fast. Has it not, de facto, already been partitioned? Arrangements are being made about this at the highest level between Karadzic and Boban, and in keeping with this Chetnik and Croatian soldiers are even cooperating at some locations in the field, for example in the evacuation of Serbs and Croats from Sarajevo, while Muslims are allegedly prevented from leaving.

[Budisa] I have heard about that. There will be no peace in B-H if one of the three nations, and in this case the majority one, is left without its own territory, and half of it is still being depopulated. You suggest that the partition of B-H is a realistic option. But my response to that is this: I do not believe that the international community will tolerate that. I still do not believe that. But if that were to happen, then there would not be peace, but not because of the Croats and Serbs, but rather because of the Muslims. They will fight because otherwise they would be left with nothing, but in that case they would wage war with the support of the Islamic world and with the real danger that fundamentalism would spread among them. Thus, I do not regard the partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a fait accompli. That is comparable to a Serbian state in the 11 opstinas in Croatia in which Serbs are in an absolute or relative majority, which is a continuous threat to the security of the Croatian state, and that also means several hundred thousand Muslims in Croatia, aside from that many more in Western Europe. Here they would change the cultural and spiritual landscape of Croatia, and tomorrow there could be clashes between Croats and Muslims in Croatia. And in Europe, new Palestinians would be recruited from their ranks who in that case would have reason to be Islamic fundamentalists.

[Lovric] You have mentioned the avoidance of chaos as a reason that you recognize the regularity of the elections. Still, despite this, how far away is Croatia from chaos today?

[Budisa] Not very. Naturally we are all concerned about the economic situation and social problems, but more than that I am concerned about the possible conflict between Croats, which has in fact already begun. I am alarmed by the fact that Croatia has actually had nothing to say about what happened in Krusevo. Death and killing have become so everyday and ordinary to us that even when this sort of massacre happens, Croatia—with notable exceptions—remains silent. The day when those Croatian fighters were seen off for the last time was a day of sorrow for me, and that is one of the reasons that I did not come to the official swearing in of the president. It seems to me that fear is insinuating itself into people; this is a subject that is avoided as if it is some sort of fate that we cannot resist. President Tudjman should invite the leadership of the Croatian Rights Party in for a talk. He has talked with the greatest evildoers over these two or three years, so he could sit down with these people once.

[Lovric] How do you interpret what has happened in Hercegovina?

[Budisa] As two different conceptions of B-H: one of them wanting a banate and taking military action to establish its borders, not considering that the modern banate, with its special status, would not be that which it used to be; and the other wanting an integral B-H. It is possible that this conflict will be carried over into Croatia unless these two armed forces are united. After all, when we are talking about Bosnia-Hercegovina the big question is which are the legal forces there and which are the paramilitary ones. In fact, both of them are in a certain sense party-based. And as far as legality is concerned, it is not without importance that the HOS has placed itself under the command of the armed forces of B-H, and that it is stuck between the Croatian Defense Council and the armed forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina. I believe that the disputes will be settled, because otherwise we will plunge into catastrophe.

[Lovric] How do you view Croatia now after the elections?

[Budisa] Just like before the elections. I do not see that anything special has happened that would fundamentally change conditions in Croatia. Thus, the elections will provide continuity in the Croatian policy with which I have still not been satisfied thus far. Aside from the fact that we have gotten a somewhat better-quality Assembly, I do not see that anything else has changed essentially because of the elections. But the fact that the role of the Assembly will continue in the future to be minor is reflected in the fact that no one is hurrying to hold its inaugural session. In other words, it is possible to govern in Croatia without the Assembly. For now I would have nothing to say about the composition of the government, nor would I want to predict its results. I wish it all the best. However, it is already being seen that it will be a nonautonomous political body.

[Lovric] What problems will Croatia face in the coming months? Before the election, much was said about UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and next to nothing about the social complex.

[Budisa] Perhaps that is not Croatia's biggest problem, but at this moment I am most worried about the course of the conference on the former Yugoslavia. I am afraid that we are being placed in a situation where we must choose: either some sort of association or the renunciation of part of our territory, perhaps with the threat that if Croatia is not cooperative then some sort of international sanctions will be imposed on it. Certain circles in the West have clearly not abandoned the idea of an association, and I think that Croatia will have to undergo strong temptation in order to resist such pressure.

The second problem, connected to the first one, is the return of the refugees. The situation is rather poor with UNPROFOR. Its head of civilian affairs, Thornberry, says now that there will be local government in Baranja and Eastern Slavonia, that the legal system of the Republic of Croatia will not prevail there; rather—he has literally said—it will be the existing legal system, which is some sort of mix of Yugoslav laws and the ad hoc regulations of the so-called borderland authorities. And now everyone is amazed at how such statements can be made, people are shocked, especially since our people are advised every week to return to Baranja. But there is nothing to be shocked about here, when this is what the documents say to which the president of the republic agreed in February. Despite the fact that Croatia agreed that for however long UN units are there the legal system of the Republic of Croatia will not be applicable, functionaries of the ruling party and high-ranking state officials have been saying the exact opposite all along: that UNPROFOR will allow the Croatian legal system to be established. To these three things—the conference on Yugoslavia, the refugees, and the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina—must be added the fourth major problem, economic and social conditions in Croatia.

[Lovric] How would you resolve these social problems, as the party of capital, of which there is none...?

[Budisa] We are not the party of capital, but rather of social cohesion. Social problems cannot be solved through the redistribution of general poverty. It is necessary to create legal and other conditions to provide work for the most propulsive stratum of entrepreneurs. But the task of the social state is to see to it that each citizen be socially provided for. We support the demands by labor unions on ensuring the minimum subsistence level. In recent times, a type of entrepreneurism has developed based on the primary accumulation of capital. We as a party are not in a position to control these processes, nor to bear responsibility for them. We do not

represent this type of entrepreneurism. This will ultimately be seen in the Assembly as well. Certain documents will have to come to light. Because certain powers have been exploited over these past two years in order to feather nests to an outrageous extent, to compensate for everything that they think they have missed out on. I think that people in government should share the fate of the general public in the material sense and that it is utterly unacceptable, intolerable, that a narrow political stratum is living like it does while there are 265,000 unemployed people in Croatia and several hundred thousand refugees, while the average wage is below 100 marks....

[Lovric] But this fact of arrogant luxury did not have much of an effect on the election results. Can it be concluded that the Croatian people are in fact pro-regime?

[Budisa] I have said, somewhat ironically, that it is a good thing that they did not buy more apartments and airplanes, because then they would have gotten even more votes. It appears that the type of value system in place here is not punished by the people, but rather rewarded. Even in secret balloting. Our party offered voters honest government and if nothing else, we certainly would have effected that. But that is not appreciated in this country. Still, we must bear in mind that the majority of voters voted for opposition parties.

[Lovric] Based on a recent article by you describing the problem of the excessive obsession with Croatian awareness, it could be said that you have entered into a sort of postnationalist phase?

[Budisa] Half in jest, half in earnest, we in the party in fact call ourselves post-nationalists. With the creation of the Croatian state and the establishment of a situation in which we are not challenged as Croats, Croatian awareness itself loses the dimensions that it had in the Yugoslav state, when not all but many of us were convinced that we could not even preserve ourselves as people if we were only as Croatian as was permitted. Now we are in a new situation; Croatian awareness has even become fashionable, and today it is not only easy but also desirable to be a Croat. Recently Zarko Domljan spoke of the latent Croats who secretly dreamed of Croatia, up until the point when the HDZ appeared, giving them back their homeland. Many people came to surface who did not believe in Croatia, who did not believe in the Croatian state, who regarded us as naive fools, and now we, who were not secret Croats, who invested something in the issue, well, now we are sometimes even called enemies of the Croatian state by these people. There have been plenty of times when I have found myself in difficult situations where I was called upon and expected to fall short precisely in that regard, and even under the greatest threat of mistreatment I never compromised in this regard.

[Lovric] I thought that it is possible to be a good Croat even without insisting on national attributes alone, but rather on other equally important human attributes as well?

[Budisa] It is only when they challenge you with regard to this attribute that it becomes very essential. You had to have my experience in order to know what it meant to be a Croat in the Yugoslav state, but not the type of Croat who is a Croat only to the extent that it does not offend the hypersensitivity of the Serbs. This was the criterion imposed on us, and the responsibility for this lies with you former Croatian communists, who took Serbian oversensitivity about manifestations of Croatian consciousness as the objective criterion for appraising it.

[Lovric] You cannot say that, because I did not shrink from playing a provocative role concerning the former hypersensitivity in a different way....

[Budisa] But you were not for a Croatian state....

[Lovric] Because I was interested primarily in what sort of state it would be, I was interested in its quality, its democratic character. I would gladly concede the point to you if you were right about this state being essentially different from the previous one, but that is not the case, and it is not only because of the war.

[Budisa] No, it isn't. I dreamed of a different Croatia. And it is a little harder for me than for you, because I incorporated everything I did into realizing the dream of a Croatian state; in fact, everything that I did was simply incidental in relation to what was most essential, my whole life was incidental in that regard.... But whose political dreams have ever taken the actual form about which they dreamed? Croatia today is a far cry from what I imagined, even in the literal, physical sense. Our country today is a sad sight, but nevertheless we have an independent and internationally recognized state. Although we are somewhat deafened by cliches about the realization of a thousand-year dream, we must still regard our present-day reality from a historical perspective, and no matter how pathetic it sounds the independent Croatian state is the crowning achievement on the aspirations of many generations of Croatians. But this political form in which it has been realized—for now truncated borders, rudimentary democracy, a low level of political culture, devastated cities and towns, social indigence—is only a transitory form of the Croatian state. Today's Croatia is not the only possible Croatia. What we will make of our country depends on each of us.

[Lovric] That is easy to agree with. But even now, under—as you say—changed circumstances, there is insistence on this national attribute as the dominant one. Do you feel that the deep tragedy that Croatia is experiencing can serve as justification for chauvinistic statements such as that only Croats can teach Croatian? Such an attitude is understandable coming from the people, but these statements are coming from the leadership, from those who should favor an enlightened approach?

[Budisa] You will never hear statements such as that from the HSLS. As a member of the government I helped a number of Serbs who turned to me, I helped get one innocent person released from prison. We have never allowed the tragedy experienced by the Croatian people

to engender a revanchist spirit among us, and it is especially clear that we would not resort to the nationalistic stereotype to the effect that all Serbs are the same, or that none of them are worth anything. That is not the policy of this party, nor my own personal policy. I know that it will be difficult to build bridges after this war; it will be easy with those who have shared the fate of the Croatian people, hard with those who went over to the other side. Relations with Serbs must be built upon the Constitution and the Constitutional Law on National Minorities, and upon respect for the law and for the equality of all citizens. It is especially important now to prevent all acts of violence. I might recall the words of Cardinal Kuharic, who said that every bomb planted in a Serbian house is also placed in a Croatian one, that every act of violence and crime against a member of whatever nation is violence and a crime against the Croatian state....

Federal

Panic Plans Asking UN To Lift Sanctions

LD1409215792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1828 GMT 14 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Rome, Sept 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic has stated that right on return from his currrent visit to China he will go to the United Nations to propose the lifting of the U.N. sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) late May.

Panic told the TRIESTE IL PICCOLO paper that his government had removed "many obstacles in the way of erasing the sanctions," especially by its peace efforts in the civil war-ridden ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Asked whether the sanctions could be eased after the Croat and Moslem sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina were now also blamed for what the Serbian side alone had been blamed, Panic answered he hoped this goal could be achieved.

"The press now is much more balanced off and more neutral. Now in Bosnia-Hercegovina all appear guilty, while earlier only one side has been blamed," said Panic.

Told that he had put many a good intention on paper to the United Nations, whereas the question remained about his actual powers and influence over, say, the Army, Panic answered "I am also defence minister and soon you will see what powers I have. I have too many powers. To me, the Army today seems very prepared to spearhead the peace process."

As for when the F.R.Y. would recognize the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Panic said that his government believed in peace and that "the recognition of Croatia is a matter as vital as peace."

He added: We shall arrive at this point, we are in the course of negotiations, but peace has to be equal and honourable for all. We are negotiating peace of this sort devoid of any manipulations and territorial transactions. What will be will be just equal peace between the Serbs and the Croats.

Asked whether a resignation by President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia could facilitate the peace process, Panic said that he could not answer this question for it was too radical and abstract.

Concerning the resignation by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic—formerly the Serbian foreign minister and now said to be reappointed to this post—Panic was asked whether his resignation meant the distancing of Serbia from the Yugoslav Government. The prime minister emphasized: "There must not be, nor will be any autonomous Serbian foreign policy."

Said Panic: this is clearly stated in the federal constitution. Foreign policy is our competence, not Serbia's, and if Serbia were playing its game it could have problems. But it will not do that. All must cooperate on the establishment of peace, not follow separate roads.

Speaking about Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet), where an active separatist movement of ethnic Albanians has organized the proclamation of this Serbian province a republic, Panic stressed that the Kosmet issue was an internal affair of the F.R.Y. A story that Kosmet could break away from the Yugoslav Federation, in Panic's words, "is a mirage, a wrong appraisal."

Panic Seeks Russian Help in UN Membership Issue

LD1309173492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 13 Sep 92

[Text] Beijing, Sept 13 (TANJUG)—The prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Milan Panic, told TANJUG Sunday [13 September] that during his brief meeting in Moscow with Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Kolokolov, he had asked Russia to say no in the United Nations for the first time since Gorbachev.

Panic made the stopover in Moscow on his way to China where he arrived on Sunday evening.

The Yugoslav premier did not specifically explain the background of his request, but it seems that it refers to the latest move by the West to deny the new federation the right to automatically succeed the old Yugoslavia's seat in the United Nations and exclude it from the work of U.N. bodies. No by a permanent member of the Security Council (Russia) means a veto on decisions by the world organization.

Commenting the aim of his visit to China, Panic said he is very satisfied as this is the first official invitation by a foreign government to the prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

China was one of the first countries to resume friendly and diplomatic relations with the new Yugoslavia, which was proclaimed in late April.

Panic said he would "also ask our Chinese frinds to veto a possible move for the exclusion of Yugoslavia from the United Nations."

Speaking about his plans after the trip to China, the Yugoslav premier announced he will shortly leave for New York and the United Nations, and after to Washington and Bonn.

Panic Calls For 'Changes Without Victims'

LD1209203892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0606 GMT 11 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic has condemned the West for not being prepared to help Yugoslavia introduce democratic changes without victims.

"How many people should have died in Yugoslavia before we reach the democratic system," said Panic in an interview published in the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES on Friday [11 September].

He said he had come to Yugoslavia to bring peace, adding that the concept here "is encouraging people to fight." "Nobody talks about peace," Panic said.

He criticized the Serbian television for constantly showing war scenes, instead of appealing for peace and tolerance.

Panic said he was confident Yugoslavia would find the way out of the situation. "But it will not be easy for everybody, especially those who see me as an obstacle," Panic added.

"You will not get rid of me easily. All those who do not think so are wrong. I am not a man who gives up easily," said Panic.

He said he was appalled by the parliamentary procedure of vote of non-confidence to the Federal Government as well as the untruths by some of the deputies.

However, he said, at the London conference the Yugoslav delegation obtained a chance for the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia to be lifted.

Panic stressed he was against ethnic cleansing of any territories in the world.

Vance, Panic Issue Statements on 'Useful' Talks

AU1209193192 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 92

[Text] Here is what Cyrus Vance, co-chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, and Milan Panic, federal prime minister, said after talks held today:

[Begin recording] [Vance, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] This morning we had very useful talks. We continued yesterday's debate on key problems—not only military problems, but also many very important humanitarian issues that must also be urgently dealt with. As you know, yesterday we issued an announcement on what had been achieved. I think that after what was said yesterday, it is now clear to observers or readers that some very important steps forward have been made. We will continue to work together with the goal of moving toward reducing violence and making progress in the talks that are to begin next week.

[Panic] I think that Mr. Vance has made a suggestion to us that we accepted—the suggestion that we should take a much more aggressive policy for peace, much more aggressive than the one we have practiced to date. For example, things contrary to the peace in Bosnia that are taking place should be reported to the United Nations as soon as possible, something that we are now going to do. The most important thing is a much more aggressive approach to peace. [end recording]

Vance 'Shocked' Over Izetbegovic Decision on Talks

LD1409223492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2136 GMT 14 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, September 14 (TANJUG)—Co-president of the Conference on Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance categorically demanded on Monday [14 September] that leader of the Muslims in Bosnia Alija Izetbegovic reconsider his decision not to go to Geneva, where negotiations on the civil war in this former Yugoslav Republic are expected to start on Friday.

UN Representative in Geneva Frederick Eckhard told reporters that Vance had been "shocked" with Izetbegovic's refusal to participate in the negotiations, as, during their meeting in Sarajevo last Thursday, Izetbegovic had given his "serious, personal and unconditional assurances" that he would participate. Eckhard said that Vance has asked Izetbegovic to either come to the negotiations on Friday personally, or send his Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic.

Fierce conflicts have been raging for the past five and a half months in Bosnia-Hercegovina between the local Serbs (32 percent of the population) on the one hand and local Croats and Muslims (17 percent and 44 percent of the population respectively) on the other hand. Last week all three sides promised Conference on Yugoslavia Co-Presidents Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen that they would attend the negotiations in Geneva on Friday.

The UN spokesman told reporters that Vance had recieved a letter from Izetbegovic on Sunday informing him that "because of continued battles in Sarajevo," the representatives of the Muslim-Croatian authorities in Bosnia-Hercegovina would not take part in the Geneva negotiations.

Leader of the Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic announced the possibility of not attending the Geneva negotiations if the UN adopted a decision banning military flights above the entire territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Negotiations scheduled for Friday in Geneva are supposed to be held within the framework of the Conference on Yugoslavia working group on Bosnia-Hercegovina. Finnish diplomat Martty Ahtisaari will chair the session.

Justice Minister Urges Holding of Early Elections

LD1309181392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1304 GMT 13 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 13 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Justice Minister Tibor Varadi has urged the holding of early elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), announced for late November, and added that they would make sense if all the political forces in the country took part in them.

In an interview to the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG, Varadi said the elections would be useful because the forthcoming political spring was likely to be a hot one.

"There are the sanctions, social problems, tension, and it is not at all unimportant whether this will be channeled through an election, political struggle, or through street demonstrations," the justice minister said.

Varadi underscored that the group of experts formed by his ministry with the task of determining the details of the election principles was independent.

The principles were the subject of heated debate over the past ten days at the round table talks between the authorities and the opposition.

Varadi said a draft law on citizenship should enter the parliamentary procedure before the elections because, among other things, it should resolve the question of who will be able to vote in the forthcoming elections.

One of the biggest dilemmas in connection with the law is, as Varadi noted, the question of refugees.

"If we were to give them citizenship immediately, we would perhaps complete the job of ethnic cleansing because we would separate them permanently from the areas to which they should return. On the other hand, if we do not give them citizenship, we could discriminate them," Varadi said.

If the political differences over the law are qualified as major and if it cannot pass parliamentary procedure quickly, the possibility remains that the election law itself regulate who can vote in the forthcoming elections, Varadi explained.

Varadi resolutely came against "ethnic cleansing", assessing that in some places of Serbia's northern province Vojvodina there were instances that could "earn this ugly qualification". Stressing that such phenomena represented "undermining of the state", that is, its legal order, he urged that police be more readily involved than previously in checking out such instances, regardless whether some political leader, minister or someone other was involved.

Varadi also believes the Federal Assembly should as soon as possible address the law on amnesty. "I, personally, as well as the government, were convinced that this law made sense morally and legally," stated Varadi.

Stating his satisfaction with the support the law was receiving of late, (trade unions, youth, "greens", parties ...) Varadi noted that amnesty meant pardoning, and that this act "does not steal honor from those who went to war nor does it place in the right those who did not."

Speaking about objections to the "all for all" prisoner exchange principle, Varadi said the exchange of the persons under war crimes criminal proceedings was not mandatory, but that under the Geneva conventions it was possible. The exchanged were not being absolved and they could go on trial, stressed Varadi.

Speaking about the idea on forming an international tribunal, as set out at the London peace conference by British Prime Minister Major, Varadi said it warranted consideration, but noted that an international court was not easy to set up. "Such courts have so far been set up by the victors, and there was no victor here. On the other hand, it was very hard to create a mechanism that would be superbly unbiased and at the same time competent," said justice minister in the government of Prime Minister Milan Panic in the interview to TANJUG.

Tibor Varadi, who has a doctor's degree from Harvard, is a professor at the Novi Sad law school and is one of the more prominent Yugoslav legal experts.

President Interviewed on Current Situation

PM1109162592 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 6 Sep 92 pp 59-61

[Interview with Dobrica Cosic, president of FRY, by Daniel S. Schiffer; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Schiffer] Mr. President, rather than as a politician, I will address you as a writer. How do you explain this war?

[Cosic] I have written two [as published] books, published recently, that deal with precisely this topic: "The Serbian Question," "The Democratic Question," and "The Changes." In these books I have tried to explain what is happening and what has happened in the past—events that Western Europe refuses to understand, for political and ideological reasons, insisting that the reason for the war lies in Serbian nationalism and the consequent hegemonic desire for the "Greater Serbia." In fact exactly the opposite is true: It is democratization.

[Schiffer] Do you mean that that which Europe describes as the "dislocation" or "disintegration" of Yugoslavia, you call "democratization"?

[Cosic] Precisely! This process has been going on for a decade, since the death of Marshall Tito, and it was inevitable, here as elsewhere in Eastern Europe. I predicted it 20 years ago, and my books bear witness to this.

[Schiffer] How could this democratization have developed?

[Cosic] I envisaged two possible and opposite paths: the country's destruction, whereby the secessionists would have gone as far as war (both civil and religious) and genocide, or Yugoslavia's Scandinavianization whereby we could have created an atmosphere of negotiation, a spirit of cooperation, albeit not necessarily of reconciliation, but not of decomposition either. This, pending the holding of a referendum, a consultation of the people—separation on a peaceful basis, through negotiations and observance of the citizens' will. Unfortunately barbarism has prevailed.

[Schiffer] Have not even the Serbs accepted this path?

[Cosic] Unfortunately, the Serbs were not consulted, because the secessionists—the Slovenes, Croats, and Bosnians—would not accept this, and immediately imposed their own will. We Serbs and Yugoslavs are still in favor of a referendum, on the basis of two principles—the delimitation of territories and the peoples'--including the Serbian people's—right to self-determination.

[Schiffer] What support have you enjoyed in this direction from the EC?

[Cosic] The worst thing is that the EC, from the outset of the conflict, has supported one side, but not the other. In this matter, Europe has behaved very badly, by implementing a partisan and disastrous policy: It was in practice Europe that drove us to war.

[Schiffer] Why did the EC side against Serbia and with Croatia in the present conflict in Bosnia?

[Cosic] I consider this stance a serious and illogical mistake on the part of the EC and the United States. It is partly due to another war within the war—that in the media! I honestly cannot understand how it is possible to so absolutely diabolize a people, the Serbian people, by putting forward so many lies or even reversing the true facts, always to the benefit of the Croats. There is no truth in the mass media war; everything appears black or white, without any intermediate shades, without any gray.

[Schiffer] As an intellectual recording your era, and not as Yugoslav president, can you tell us why there has to be so much bloodshed to achieve a partitioning of territory.

[Cosic] You cannot understand Yugoslavia without a thorough knowledge of its history even before its official birth in 1918. This, because the reasons for its birth were the same as those for its death. During World War, in 1914, the Austro-Hungarian Empire sent an expeditionary force—

60 percent Croats and Muslims and a few Serbs—to the Balkans against the Serbs living in this territory. It was a fratricicdal and bloodthirsty war, won by the Serbs in the trenches. Consequently the integrationist ideology took hold only among the southern Slavs who won that war—that is, the Serbs, while among the Slovenes and Croats, the losers, it took hold only among the political and intellectual classes, but not among the people, who remained profoundly nationalistic.

[Schiffer] What is the main characteristic of Croatian nationalism?

[Cosic] The foundation of their nationalism has been religion, ever since the mid-19th century. So the Croatian is a Catholic, even more then a nationalist. Catholicism in Croatia has the role of an outright constitutional principle. Hence the Croat's profound hostility toward the Serb, guilty in his eyes of two capital sins—both an Orthodox or an atheist and a communist! For the Serb, on the other hand, the fundamental concept, as in all modern countries, is unity of language and therefore the nation, civilization, and citizenship. Such a great difference of characters could not fail to prompt a virtually insuperable antagonism.

[Schiffer] Do you mean that the difference between Croatia and Serbia is that between a religious state (Croatia) and a democratic state (Serbia)?

[Cosic] Precisely! The Yugoslav state itself is now defined constitutionally as a "state of the citizens," whereas President Tudjman has defined Croatia constitutionally as the "state of the Croatians."

[Schiffer] Does that mean that between the Croatian and Yugoslav presidents there is the same antagonism as exists between fundamentalism and tolerance?

[Cosic] Yes! And behind Croatian nationalism there lies what is certainly not a praiseworthy principle: hatred of diversity. This ideology subsequently became part of the Serbian people's unconscious, exacerbating antagonism and antipathy, to the extent of mutual hatred and the desire to fight. The tragedy of Serbia and Croatia is exactly that of Cain and Abel.

[Schiffer] Now, however, it is the Serbs that are being accused by the West of genocide and hegemonism, driven by the twofold desire to recreate the "Greater Serbia" and to carry out "ethnic cleansing!"

[Cosic] I defy anyone to produce concrete proof that a single Serbian or Yugoslav politician has ever talked about anything so disgusting. I want to point out that Yugoslavia is the only state with a ministry for the defense of human rights. The present Croatian government, on the other hand, still nurtures the dream of achieving the "Greater Croatia" extending as far as Belgrade, inspired by Ante Pavelic, the infamous leader of the notorious "ustashas," the Nazis' allies between 1941 and 1945. It is pure madness, desired not only by the present ruling party but shared by the intellectuals, too.

[Schiffer] This analysis casts gloomy shadows over Europe's future. What international political conclusion do you draw?

[Cosic] All the most evil cultural and political factors of the 20th century are encountering fertile ground in

Croatia, which now displays its destructive strength not only locally but internationally too. It is supported in this by Germany, Austria, and Hungary—that is, by the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. And by the Vatican.

[Schiffer] Assuming that this is so, and irrespective of any verdict on the method used to achieve the objective, do you consider the Croatian people's desire for independence legitimate?

[Cosic] Of course! In fact I consider this aspiration a form of democratic energy that acts in their favor, a force that grants them the right to self- determination: I can only approve of it. I take issue not with the end, but with the means of achieving it. Unfortunately, this noble sentiment itself is being exploited and manipulated by other forces for their own interests.

[Schiffer] From what you say, the Austro-Hungarian Empire is being restored under Germany's direction!

[Cosic] Precisely. Germany is now regaining— in peace and tranquillity and again against the Serbs, using the Croats—that which it lost in World War II. But the most disturbing thing in this war is the four mistakes that Europe is committing—to witness passively a third world war disguised and nurtured by Germany; to support uncritically the Germans' traditional ally, Croatia; to diabolize, equally irresponsibly, the Germans' traditional enemy, Serbia; and thus to support the resurgence of anti-Semitism, moreover turning the Serbs into the new Jews, guilty of every sin!

[Schiffer] On the subject of persecution, what is the truth about the existence of Serbian concentration camps?

[Cosic] They are prison and detention camps, such as exist in all wars. Of course I do not deny that some atrocities may have been committed. But in the Croatian camps, of which there are an equal number, even more bloodthirsty acts have been committed. The Muslims do not take prisoners; they kill!

[Schiffer] Why, then, have only Serbian camps been seen on television?

[Cosic] Why should it be assumed that they are Serbian? The Croats have hired a Washington-based American public relations firm, Ruder and Finn, to take care of their image, paying it $17 million a year. The firm's job is principally to fabricate scenarios and news, and to feed them to the media.

[Schiffer] Do you think that Americans recognized Bosnia, which is led by a Muslim fundamentalist. President Aliya Ezetbegovic—the author of, among other things, the "Islamic Declaration" in which he calls for a Muslim empire from Bosnia to Indonesia— because of media propaganda?

[Cosic] Not just that. They are trying in this way to weaken Europe, which, they fear, by encouraging the birth of an Islamic state within it,

Air Defense Corps Commander Interviewed

92BA1390C Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Aug 92 pp 20-21

[Interview with Colonel Radomir Sekulic, commander of the Air Defense Corps, by S. Nedeljkovic; place and date not given: "We Are Being Protected by the Air Defense Umbrella"]

[Text] [Nedeljkovic] Colonel, you have been made commander of the PVO [Air Defense] Corps by decree of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Presidency. Tell us why the PVO Corps was formed and what it does?

[Sekulic] The PVO Corps was formed to meet the needs and demands of the state of the FRY for its own armed force and also for transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ] which is now taking place, and also in keeping with defense doctrine, the country's material capabilities, and demands imposed by military-political relations and by the international environment. This is a combined-arms operational unit intended for antiaircraft defense of facilities, territory, and main groupings of the VJ over the entire territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Creation of the PVO Corps has given us an integrated entity and linked up all weapons systems (missile units, fighter aircraft, and units for air observation, reporting, and guidance) into a unified and compatible functional and operational system of air defense. We have in this way achieved maximum responsiveness and effectiveness of the PVO system, because we have considerably reduced decisionmaking time and response time of units in the execution of commands.

[Nedeljkovic] How do you imagine integration of the very complicated fire systems and observation systems in the PVO Corps?

[Sekulic] In addition to fighter aircraft, which are a highly maneuverable force, we have also included in the PVO Corps certain missile systems which offer us maneuver with fire and movement. This is very significant, because in this way the focus of an action can be quickly transferred from one defended target to another, and that is an exceedingly important virtue in air defense.

I would like to particularly emphasize that to make the PVO system effective we are also integrating other observation elements, such as weather radars, visual observation stations, and hail-defense stations into a unified system. In this way, we are supplementing the system previously organized for air defense and reporting, whose role is no doubt very important, because it makes it possible to reduce any possible surprise to the smallest possible measure.

The new organization of PVO does not diminish the need for further preparation of the terrain and training

of the population and other public structures for protection from the air, which represents an important component of the PVO.

[Nedeljkovic] How effective is this "air defense umbrella" over the territory of the FRY?

[Sekulic] With the personnel and armament which the PVO Corps possesses, I say that we are able to successfully perform the task of air defense of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I should mention that these personnel have high responsibility; however, it should be realized that they have been proving themselves on a daily basis and the high level of performance of our structures in fire action has been confirmed for years.

Comparing ourselves to neighboring states and other states in the world, I think that we are not lagging behind at all with respect to air defense of the territory and groupings of the VJ. On the contrary, I think that we even have a certain disadvantage in view of the space which we are protecting, the numerous and effective pieces of military equipment, and also the exemplary organization of the entire system.

It is important to realize that no major city, significant facility, or grouping of the Army of Yugoslavia is without effective air defense. Belgrade, of course, just like other large cities in the FRY, deserves particular attention when it comes to air defense. Our people are continuously engaged in the successful defense of such important objectives, and I have full confidence in them; and I would like on this occasion to pay credit to them for their extremely professional and competent performance.

[Nedeljkovic] After the demonstration of force in the Adriatic, the inhabitants of Belgrade are disturbed by rumors about bombardment. Is something like that possible?

[Sekulic] Recently, unfortunately, there has been a great deal of talk about the bombing of Belgrade as well as other cities and objectives in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Out of fear and curiosity, citizens are asking who is protecting the capital and is that kind of unpleasant surprise possible? I think there is no reason for panic, because there is no reason at all for anything like that to happen on the territory of the FRY. If someone should in fact decide to carry out such sinister intentions, he must count on Belgrade, as well as many other cities and objectives in the FRY, being defended by the multiple fire of several missile systems. I would mention that precisely because of the feeling of being "their own masters on their own ground," people are ready and determined to hold out and not to allow any surprise of that kind.

Those who are informed about the job and problems of air defense know that there is a possibility of some single aircraft reaching our capital. For that matter, even the greatest world powers are not entirely immune to such cases. We need only recall the case a few years back when Mathias Rust landed on Red Square in Moscow. However, such an "exploit," it is well-known, could be carried out only by a small aircraft which would be sacrificed and condemned to ruin from the outset.

[Nedeljkovic] Colonel, how will you carry out and improve combat training and indoctrination in the PVO Corps?

[Sekulic] Our position concerning combat training and indoctrination is quite clear—we strive for the highest level of training and drilling. We also demand a professional attitude toward war missions and personnel completely free of any ideological determinants. We pay particular attention to developing patriotism, solid morale, and a fighting spirit for defense of the homeland. We will carry out the training itself in cooperation with units of the Army of Yugoslavia, with which we would carry out missions in a possible war anyway. I would like to particularly emphasize that in our corps everyone determines his own place exclusively by his performance, his professional competence, his knowledge, and his effort.

[Nedeljkovic] Colonel, have you been thinking about including more up-to-date PVO systems in your armament?

[Sekulic] We possess top-flight weapons systems and equipment, which, unfortunately, age quickly. That is why we are working to include in our armament more up-to-date air defense systems. Of course, the personnel of the PVO Corps are aware of the problematical economic situation in the country and also that replacement of certain armament systems would be gradual. That is why we are making maximum efforts to maintain the pieces of military equipment which we possess.

[Nedeljkovic] The movement of units and commands in PV i PVO [Air Force and Air Defense] has created a large number of people without homes, and there are probably some in the structures which you command. What do you see as the solution to that problem?

[Sekulic] This is a problem for a large number of officers and their families, who because of the well-known events in the northeastern republics have been left without housing and all those material things they had acquired over the years. This must not be viewed as a problem of the PVO Corps, but more broadly as a most serious problem of the Army of Yugoslavia and of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a state.

We have already been doing everything, and we will continue this in the future, to mitigate this basic existential problem as much as possible. I would particularly emphasize the great patience and understanding of officers of the corps as far as this is concerned, which does not diminish the most serious need of the Army of Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to resolve this problem in a planned manner and more rapidly so that it does not impose itself in a still more acute form.

[Nedeljkovic] Finally, are you an optimist as to resolution of the Yugoslav crisis?

[Sekulic] I feel that everyone should do his job with extreme responsibility and professionalism. Politics, diplomacy, the economy, and the bodies of government must seek and find the necessary ways out. I am a professional soldier and I am responsible for the training and combat readiness of the Air Defense Corps. As a man and citizen of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, looking in fundamental terms at the entire situation, I personally see the initial constructive movements at the level of the FRY, and therefore I want to be and to remain an optimist.

[Box, p 20]

The Commander

Col. Radomir Sekulic was born in 1938 in Sjenica. He was in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] from 1958. In missile units, he has held all posts up to commander of a brigade, with which he won the title of best army unit. He has graduated from the highest schools in the JNA, and he came to the post of PVO Corps commander from the position of assistant commander of the Air Force and Air Defense for training and morale.

Pilots Comment on Conditions in Croatian Prisons

92BA1391A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Aug 92 p 20

[Article by S. Nedeljkovic based on testimony of captured pilots Predrag Grandic, Milan Micic, and Goran Pantic, following their exchange: "Cruel Days of Slavery"]

[Text] Five of the six pilots of the PV i PVO [Air Force and Air Defense] whom the Croatian Army was keeping in its torture chambers were freed in the last prisoner exchange, which took place on 14 August in Nemetino, near Osijek. The pilots Nikola Dzerfi, Goran Pantic, Predrag Grandic, Milan Micic, and Dragan Arsovski are once again with their nearest and dearest, while another pilot, Captain 1st Class Slobodan Medic, is still a prisoner.

Immediately after the release, the pilots were received by Lieutenant Colonel General Bozidar Stefanovic, PV i PVO commander, who informed them that the PV i PVO command had done everything to bring about their speediest release. He called upon them to use truth as the strongest weapon and to tell the foreign and domestic newsmen gathered for the press conference everything they had experienced in the cruel days of slavery. We are presenting to our readers the testimony given by three pilots at that meeting.

Unrelenting Pain and Torture

The MiG-21 flown by pilot Predrag Grandic was downed on 12 April 1992 in the area of Kupres, while he was carrying out a reconnaissance mission.

"At an altitude of about 100 meters and at a speed of slightly greater than 1,000 km/hr, I was hit by an Ustasha surface-to-air missile," pilot Predrag Grandic relates. "I never dreamed that I would fall into the hands of the most infamous Ustashi, members of the 101st Brigade of the ZNG [National Guard Corps], which is famous for its brutality. That was the beginning of 125 days of unrelenting pain and torture, full of uncertainty and abuses such as the normal human mind cannot even imagine. The Ustashi have no equal among living creatures when it comes to inventing new methods of torturing people and humiliating them. Many fascist monsters from the last war are mere amateurs compared to them.

"In prisons from Duvno and Split to Kerestinac in Zagreb, I went through torture such as did not even exist in the Middle Ages. It is not a question of being beaten unconscious, of being exhausted by hunger, or the incessant threats of having your throat cut, but above all of failing to understand one's environment and hatred in such an amount that it turns a man into a monster resolved to cold-bloodedly destroy anyone who thinks differently or who is not of the same faith as he is. Imagine the amount of hatred and brutality, some bestial passion, or madness, in people who, for example, broke my colleague Nikola Dzerfi's leg four times in succession in order to satisfy some whim of theirs. Or again, what is one to say about the Ustasha investigators, men who had been my colleagues and classmates—the deserters Boza Korajac and Ivan Canjuga, who wanted to be as convincing as possible in playing a new role before their bosses—charging me with things I never did and never would have done?

"I realized that the most important thing was mental survival. So I clenched my teeth even when they beat me until I turned blue, forced me to wash hundreds of vehicles in one day, trim kilometers of hedges, 'admire' their patriotic marches, which echoed day and night, or to look on while they enjoyed a contest breaking records in a new sport which they invented—the speed and number of slaps delivered to a prisoner."

A Vegetable in a Wheelchair

Major Milan Micic, helicopter pilot, was kidnapped in Mostar and taken to Croatian territory along with his colleague Capt. 1st Class Dragan Arsovski.

"The method with which Croatian extremists kidnapped my colleague Arsovski and me in front of our house in Mostar surpasses scenes of even the most cleverly directed criminal novels about the American underground. With automatic weapons pressed against our temples and with their finger on the trigger, they took us first to a prison in Grude and then to Split. The warden

of the prison there was the notorious Dujic from Mitnica, an animal of a man who used every moment to make the prisoners miserable. They beat us unconscious, they broke bone after bone, they starved us. There were also mentally disturbed women among them, one of whom broke my nose."

"They tried out and improved their torture apparatus with us, some kind of electrical devices that they attached to our ears and genitals. Then they turned on the current, which made you think your neck was breaking and your eyes leaping from your head. They beat people to force them to 'confess' that they had killed and slaughtered Croatian children. At the very outset, they promised me that I would get out alive, but that I would be a vegetable in a wheelchair."

A Chetnik Stinks a Lot

"Jastreb [Hawk]" pilot Goran Pantic was downed 23 April 1992 in the area of Capljina.

"We were protecting the withdrawal of our people from the garrison in Capljina when bursts of Ustasha fire tore the wing off my aircraft," pilot Goran Pantic relates. "After I was captured, they took me to Capljina to show me to Bobetko, and then they demanded that I 'recite' to them all the army secrets. Because I actually was not even informed about many things, and in order to stop the beating, I had to let my imagination go and invent some sort of positions and our forces. Surprising, I was convincing.

"From Capljina, they took me to Metkovic, where they continued the investigation. They became fiercer and stepped up the tempo of the beating when they found in the pocket of my flight suit a photograph of my son wearing a Titovka [garrison cap worn by Tito's Partizans] and the red star on the Titovka.... They transferred me from Metkovic to the prison in Split. There they beat me and mistreated me every day. In order to 'soften me up,' they broke nine ribs for a start. Then they put me in a solitary cell 1 meter by 2 on a mattress soaked with urine so that they could beat me 'because the Chetnik stinks a lot.'

"The personnel in the Ustasha prisons are the lowest dregs of humanity, tramps and criminals like a certain boxer named Giljo, who had nothing in his head at all except muscle. This Giljo, this 'Mengele from Split,' made our life miserable by forcing us to greet him with the Ustasha salutation 'Ready for the fatherland.' Then we would immediately have to identify ourselves this way: 'I am a member of the Serbian-Chetnik-communist illegal army, which has been slaughtering the innocent Croatian and Muslim peoples....' This refrain always had to be repeated whenever we met him, and woe to anyone who began to stutter....

"For me, the beatings and abuse were not as bad as the filthy lies of which the Croatian media are making abundant use. They threatened our officers that they would cut their throats to force them to make declarations that they had been killing children and committing all kinds of horrors. Under threat of the knife, they forced one officer to make a declaration in front of cameras and to demonstrate with a cement mixer how he had allegedly slaughtered Croatian children and thrown them into that same cement mixer along with gravel. They took me to some kind of demolished building and forced me in front of the camera to say that I had hit civilian targets with missiles and destroyed them in their beautiful homeland."

"It was bad. I hope it does not happen again."

[Box, p 20]

The Ustasha Electric Chair

An altogether new torture device has been patented in the Split prison. This is a 220-volt power transformer with special clips like clothespins that they attach to the ears of prisoners and then give them electric shocks. The captured PV i PVO pilots were among the first to experience this method of interrogation.

[Box, p 20]

Immobile Fighting Men

During the last prisoner exchange it was found that only about 20 percent of the prisoners offered for exchange had taken part in armed combat. The others were civilians whom the Croatian Army had arrested for no reason whatsoever in villages in order to have people to exchange. Thus, the prisoners included a sizable number of elderly people, even people who could not walk whom the Ustasha soldiery had forcibly dressed up in army uniforms.

Armed Citizens Reportedly in Sandzak

92BA1373B Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 92 p 6

[Article by Vasko Radusinovic: "Ugljanin Is Traveling, and the People Are Frightened"]

[Text] Novi Pazar, 24 Aug—Peace prevails in the Raska region. The days to come will say whether this is a real peace or some tense suspense.

As for suspense, it seems that the views of many inhabitants are directed in the direction of London. Most of all the Muslims, or, better to say, members of the SDA [Democratic Action Party], whom Ugljanin will be representing there, have requested from the European gentleman a republic "for their long-suffering people." And what else in addition no one knows at this moment, not even Ugljanin's devoted followers. But the main thing for him is that he behave in the style of "L'etat, c'est moi!" Were that not the case, he would have brought together his followers in at least one meeting to present his views to them, but also to hear their opinions from them. But that obviously did not occur to him. That is

why there is quite a bit of resentment and anger among the members of the party he heads. Which is not to mention the Muslims who are not members of the SDA. In any case, there are quite a few reasons for uneasiness and worry in the Raska region.

The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] is raging with all its ferocity. The bloody conflicts between the Serbs and Muslims are not ceasing. By all appearances, conscientious citizens and the army of Yugoslavia are preserving the peace here in the Raska area. Were that not the case, there probably would have been use of the immense armament held by both sides, most of all the Muslims, who prepared for this day long ago, even when there was no war on the lands of Yugoslavia. It is assumed that more than 10,000 Muslims are armed in the Raska area. There is no need to discuss what it means to rattle arms between nationalities that parted from one another long ago and each shut itself off in its own area. There is no doubt, because the Serbs are also well-armed, that an armed conflict could begin one day in this area as well, depending on the provisions and decisions of the London Conference. We have learned from Colonel Dusan Loncar of the Uzice Corps that the Muslims possess not only infantry weapons, but other armament as well. They have bazookas that arrived through secret channels from Bosnia, but also from Croatia, the purpose being to spread the war that is raging there to the Raska area as well.

Here are certain other indicators that must be of concern to all those who are trying to keep the peace in this area: It is no secret whatsoever that a large number of members of the SDA are undergoing training in Bosnia. About 2,000 young men of Muslim nationality are undergoing that training. Some of them, after having learned their trade well from Alija's chief honchos, have already returned to these parts and are only awaiting an occasion to bloody their hands. It is being said unofficially that there are about 250 of them roaming these parts, waiting for a wink from Alija Izetbegovic to begin the bloodshed.

The datum that Izetbegovic has concentrated about 30,000 of his fighters on the border with Serbia must also be of concern. They are readying themselves to move against the Serbs and to come to the aid of Sulejman Ugljanin's "division." It is highly fortunate that for the moment this is only a desire, but there are obviously impatient people trying every day to cross over with weapons from the direction of Priboj and Nova Varos.

According to Col. Loncar, the task of Yugoslavia's army is to protect equally the Serbs and Muslims, but not to allow troops to cross over here from Bosnia. But the colonel says that until all the paramilitary formations are disarmed, the army of Yugoslavia will stay in these parts and preserve the peace with all available means.

As for the presence...[line omitted in original]...it needs to be said that many look askance at this, especially representatives of the SDA. Encouraged by their leader, they say that they can preserve the peace on their own, without any presence of uniforms of the army of a state that is foreign to them. They say that the barrels of the cannons and tanks are directed only at houses where Muslims live. There have been quite a few accusations, mostly unfounded, concerning the behavior of members of the Uzice Corps, and all of this aimed at portraying to the European and world public that the Muslims are threatened here and that they really need their own state. It would be created with the help of the brothers from Bosnia, but also through foreign intervention. Hardly a day passes without someone from among Alija's virtuous followers making some charge of this kind. Thus, the rattling of arms in the Raska area is imparting quite a bit of tension to what appears to be a peaceful atmosphere. That is why the people in RAS [association of Serbs] are calling upon the army to immediately disarm the illegal army of Sulejman Ugljanin and facilitate peace for all those who really desire peace. There is no doubt that a large number of Muslims, who do not care for Ugljanin's views and demands, and who are turned above all toward their own business, would also like peace. This is evident at every step. In Novi Pazar, there are hardly any social facilities or trade or hostelry establishments. There is an abundance of foreign exchange, and at the same time prices are much lower than in other parts of Yugoslavia. Nor is there any restriction on foreign travel here. Individuals travel almost without hindrance on trips organized by the various tourist agencies. Mostly to Turkey, but also to the West. In their own unique way, they come back with those goods that are in short supply in Yugoslavia. So why, then, would they prepare for war?! Ugljanin's idea is foreign to them, but unfortunately many of them do not dare to say that out of fear.

Kosovo

Rugova: 'Independence' Only Solution

AU1409190692 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 5 Sep 92 p 3

[Interview with Ibrahim Rugova by an unidentified LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] Elected president of Kosovo after semi-legal elections, Rugova says that there is no place for him and his compatriots in the framework of Serbia.

LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR: Do you think that Kosovo's turn will come after Croatia and Bosnia?

Rugova: The situation is worsening daily as a result of the pressure, threats, and the mobilization of Serbian extremists, who are organizing paramilitary groups and are backed up by the police. I have always preferred peaceful resistance. The people have given me their confidence and the Albanians have not reacted to provocations so far. However, to be honest, I cannot guarantee that they will not revolt. We have no weapons and

even less capability to produce them. The current danger is not just a war, in the full sense of the word but simply a massacre.

LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR: Nevertheless, at the London conference you met with Milan Panic, the prime minister of the new Yugoslavia ...

Rugova: This is true. However, this talk, as can be seen now, has been the subject of a campaign of disinformation launched by the Serbs during the conference itself. What is concealed behind Panic's promises? Nothing has changed, in essence. The police killed three Albanians precisely while we were conducting talks with Lord Carrington. The Serbian Army began maneuvers in Kosovo precisely when the London conference was starting. Do you know that Milan Panic, the "Yugoslav" prime minister, mentioned everywhere that he holds the post of defense minister, too?

LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR: Have you had recent contacts with the opposition in Belgrade?

Rugova: Let us be clear! The disagreements appeared only this summer. On the streets, the opposition called for Milosevic's resignation, a little more democracy, and sometimes even that and end be put to the war. Was the Kosovo issue mentioned? Never. With the exception of a few individuals—I have in mind especially Bogdan Bogdanovic, the former mayor of Belgrade Commune—the Serbian opposition has left with little, very little, hope concerning our cause, should it come to power.

LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR: The Serbs consider Kosovo to be the cradle of their history...

Rugova: Yes, I know the myth of Jerusalem, thank you! Convincing first of all themselves, and then others about their historical rights in Kosovo, the Serbs have effectively achieved a political success. I do respect history, but we can talk coolly with true historians, with genuine scientists. The Kosovo Albanians descended from Illyrians, who were there ages before the Serbs. Here we are, 2 million Albanians, or 90 percent of the population, and all rights and freedoms have been denied us for two years. The Serbs implement the same expansionist policy everywhere. Their reason is allegedly that they have ethnic "rights" in Bosnia and Croatia or historical "rights" in Kosovo.

LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR: Do you think that the restoration of the status of autonomy would be a solution?

Rugova: No, it is too late; we no longer trust them. Apart from this, since the proclamation of independence by Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina the autonomy of Kosovo in a rump Yugoslav Federation means nothing except that we are confronting Serbia on our own. We are a nation, we have a fatherland, and we have a political aim. Henceforth, the only solution is to have a neutral, independent, and democratic Republic of Kosovo that would obviously guarantee minority rights and would commit itself to having good relations with its neighbors. We should accept an extra territorial status for Serbian monuments and churches in Kosovo. I would find no other solution to be more reasonable. However, if we are to avoid a new triumph of the policy of war, time is running out.

Montenegro

Muslim Presidency Member Discusses Pljevlja

92BA1390A Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 92 p 5

[Unattributed interview with Hazbo Nuhanovic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Montenegro; place and date not given: "I Do Not Recognize My Pljevlja"]

[Text] Hazbo Nuhanovic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Montenegro, is one of the most outstanding painters in Montenegro, an exceptionally cordial person—sincere and open, and unusually quiet.... As though he had come to politics recently, but that is not the case....

[POBJEDA] At one time, you were an activist in the popular front—even president of the Pljevlja Socialist Alliance. In the first multiparty elections, you received a respectable number of votes, and you were elected a member of the Presidency of Montenegro. How does a painter feel being in politics?

[Nuhanovic] I see politics as something broader: I am an educator, besides that a painter, but I feel that those activities are nevertheless a part of politics. Not in that vulgar—ideological—sense. But is it not a kind of politics to train dozens of generations of young people, and in addition, along with all that, also be an artist?! True, I was president of the Socialist Alliance of Pljevlja Opstina, and—I must admit to you—I was surprised when I was elected. I was surprised still more to be a candidate for member of the Montenegrin Presidency in the first multiparty elections, in which I received nearly 200,000 votes. After all, politics is not my profession, nor is political office my ambition. I have simply lived the life of a free man, and I am trying not to sacrifice that personal, elementary human freedom. At the time of the first election, it was the League of Communists which made it possible for me, and today this occasion is offered me by the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS].

As far as painting and politics are concerned, it seems to me that I have found a formula for reconciling those two activities, which many people believe opposed to one another. The painter in me is much more vocal, but the politician....

[POBJEDA] In hard times, politics .s cruelty. Painting, subtlety. How does Nuhanovic the painter put up with the politician of the same name?

[Nuhanovic] The times are really hard. Especially for politics. The politics of the last several years have been bad and difficult.

[POBJEDA] Why?

[Nuhanovic] I am just about to answer that question. So: I can no way escape the impression that a sizable segment of the political public, indeed even the entire people (and if you prefer—then let us say "peoples"), have come to see affirmation of ethnic identity and consciousness as distance between human beings, not as an occasion for life together and elementary human understanding. And it is clear to me that the politics of hard times are not close to art, but I am nevertheless trying to exert influence—insofar as it is possible—toward humanization of politics, without that attempt of mine damaging the parties of citizens who do not think as I do. Perhaps this is just another artistic (painter's) illusion, but....

[POBJEDA] You belong to the incumbent party....

[Nuhanovic] Yes. I belong to the incumbent party, and I have been a Communist for 36 years.... At that time, it was the League of Communists, but later we experienced what was inevitable, and first of all changes in the name of the party.

[POBJEDA] Today, almost two years since the election, what do you think about the party that is in power and to which you belong?

[Nuhanovic] We are a strange state...let us say—republic, as in fact are the people who live in it. At the time when I was a candidate for member of the Presidium, I was only Hazbo Nuhanovic the painter. Nothing more and nothing less than that. People were quite free in their choice, and I am completely certain that I did not get 200,000 votes for nothing.... Just because I belong to this or that party. I was gratified at the time to realize that in many places I had received incomparably more votes than in my own Pljevlja....

[POBJEDA] Once again—why?

[Nuhanovic] You know that Pljevlja is a multiethnic community.... So, because I am not inclined toward the Democratic Action Party [SDA] or any other ethnic party, it is logical that a considerable number of my fellow citizens did not vote for me.

[POBJEDA] It is not our intention to inquire into deeply personal ethnic sentiments. But you are nevertheless a Muslim....

[Nuhanovic] No! I am a Montenegrin, from an old Muslim family, but I am an atheist and have been a Communist for many years. In saying that, I have told you everything....

It seems to me the time has passed for exposing deeply personal things. This is a time for somewhat more serious and subtle things. If I were a Muslim, only to prove my ethnic allegiance, I would have to belong to the Democratic Action Party—in which case, thank you for the offer. My choice is much broader, and I am convinced that it is incomparably more humane, more human!!!

[POBJEDA] Could you clarify that a bit?...

[Nuhanovic] Well, I told you at the beginning: These are ugly and bad times. I cannot comment—not as a politician, still less as an artist—on the fact that people are killing one another on the basis of name, and—mostly, even only, because of a name. There is no logical response to that. After all, put simply, who could ever justify in any way what is happening to us??

[POBJEDA] You are a native of Pljevlja. How have you been affected by everything that has been happening in that town in the last several weeks?

[Nuhanovic] Incredible: That is the only question I gave some thought to when you asked me to do an interview for POBJEDA. I was convinced that that would be the first question....

[POBJEDA] So we managed to surprise you....

[Nuhanovic] Well, you did not surprise me, but I must confess that whatever thought I gave to it, I had the least success in "thinking through" the problems of Pljevlja.

It is not a matter of calculation at all: I am a native of Pljevlja, and I have tried to give that town as much as I could. I have given it as much as I could. Perhaps I should have done more, but—believe me—today I cannot recognize my own Pljevlja from the newspaper reports and information which I receive as a member of the Presidency.

To be altogether honest: I do not even recognize some of the first and last names, because I am certain that these people are not from Pljevlja. It often seems to me that such people did not exist and do not exist now in Pljevlja. I would rather begin to talk about my home town this way: All the serious participants were brought in from outside....

[POBJEDA] Where from?

[Nuhanovic] I am talking about natives of Pljevlja, and I am convinced that there are not that many people in that town who would contribute in any way to fratricide.

You can think what you like, but all of those games with certain things are not over. Do not ask me—I see that you are preparing a question—to what things I am referring. Many things have surprised me, particularly because this is the town where I was born, and in all, I have spent at least 50 years there....

[POBJEDA] It is easy to see that it is hard for you to talk about your home town....

[Nuhanovic] Extremely difficult! I have been a teacher almost all my life, and so I remember many generations

of pupils.... Quite a few of them were the sons of distinguished veterans from Pljevlja and those who fought as early as 1941, and all of a sudden they are on the side which does not suit them with respect to any criterion. Do not ask me what they are doing there. To be honest—I myself would be glad to have a proper answer, although I doubt that we will get it.

[POBJEDA] Do you think that the State Presidency has taken every necessary step to halt the escalation of the ethnic madness (and other things)?

[Nuhanovic] According to the information which we receive daily, on the basis of what has been done so far and the way it has been done, I am convinced that the bodies of government, including the Presidency, are doing everything to preserve the peace.

[POBJEDA] In view of the historical destiny of Montenegrins relevant to the nationality question on the one hand, and a number of unfortunate circumstances on the other, is it possible to preserve civil peace in the republic?

[Nuhanovic] Let me tell you: I am a Montenegrin, that is how I feel, and I am very familiar with the unhappy history of which you speak. I say "unhappy," because some of these things are happening to us once again. We Montenegrins have to go on proving something. All the other nationalities, which are much less—it is well-known, acknowledged, so why not say it—much less courageous peoples, do not have that need. Unhappily for us. The Montenegrins have to do that, even up to the present day. But the big question is whether this time is suitable for initiating new debates of those issues? After all, I am convinced that it is much more essential at this point to answer certain other questions, above all—how to survive the blockade? How are we to prove to the world that we have been unjustly punished? Ultimately, in what way are we to win international recognition of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia?

[POBJEDA] Is that possible?

[Nuhanovic] Yes, I am convinced it is. You see, Prime Minister Panic has managed in just a few months to change the image of Montenegro and Serbia, that is, of Yugoslavia, in the world. I am not saying that certain other current politicians have not contributed, which they surely have, in particular our President Bulatovic, but Panic has an altogether new man our country needs.

[POBJEDA] You are an optimist....

[Nuhanovic] Yes, I am, because otherwise I could not be an artist, nor a politician either.

[Box, p 5]

A Sense of Community

[POBJEDA] The party in power and most of the opposition in Montenegro have been utterly unable to find a common language....

[Nuhanovic] Well, perhaps that is natural, but it is my opinion that in these bad times both the government and the opposition must think alike on certain strategic issues.

[POBJEDA] A part of the opposition does not recognize Yugoslavia....

[Nuhanovic] That is why I said that. The opposition, then, has to help the incumbent party to first resolve the problem of recognition of the joint state. After that, internal political relations are easy to resolve, and some of the disagreements can be overcome.

In any case, I have never considered the Montenegrin opposition hostile, because I am convinced that these are mainly people with honorable intentions. But I must reproach them for nonrecognition of Yugoslavia.

When it comes to the vital interests of the state and the people, we must look for and find solutions in common. In that respect, we must understand one another incomparably better. Of course, it never occurs to me to cast the burden of responsibility onto the opposition, but I am convinced that many things would be resolved more easily and quickly if in these difficult times, at least in the short term, they would forget political and other divisions.

[POBJEDA] Is it realistic to expect that?

[Nuhanovic] Why would it not be realistic?! If in moments when the most powerful force in the world threatens us dangerously, when the 6th Fleet is just off our part of the Adriatic, when it is certain that along with the sanctions there are many other very difficult trials to come, if, then, in such moments we do not feel a need to do something together, then I do not know when we will....

[Box, p 5]

Free Press

[POBJEDA] You are one of the first shareholders of the newspaper BORBA. Is that a reliable sign that you like a free press?

[Nuhanovic] Of course. Without a free press, it is difficult to speak of freedom at all. As far as BORBA is concerned, as an artist I like to read the Saturday edition, because this is where I can find extremely worthwhile articles even in the field of culture. And anyway, I like to read the newspapers, even those of the opposition. Our friends in the opposition often complain that they are deprived because of the inclination of the media toward the incumbent party. I must admit that I have not noticed that, because, for example, this is my first interview with POBJEDA, and the very first time I have been offered an opportunity to say anything for this newspaper, although I am a painter, and since the first multiparty elections I have been a member of the State Presidency. In the interval, many opposition politicians have appeared dozens of times.

[POBJEDA] You are sincere....

[Nuhanovic] Listen, it is not a question of sincerity or insincerity. I am telling you the truth, and it is easy to prove. At one point, I was even thinking about refusing the interview with you, but I nevertheless consented to talk....

[POBJEDA] I hope you are not sorry you did....

[Nuhanovic] No, I am not. You know, I am not a typical politician, and I like interviews of this kind. But I began the whole story only to show why I think the oppositionists have not been shortchanged when it comes to the attitude of the media toward them. For instance, I read opposition newspapers, and I still have not noticed any journalists making an effort to interview any distinguished member of the incumbent party. I have no idea why not. Would it not be logical to sometime print an interview in the opposition press with some of the members of the Presidency, for example? Our doors have always been open to them. It is very easy to get to see us. It is a bit more difficult to see the president because he has truly immense obligations, but it is extremely easy to see all the members of the Presidency. For that matter, you yourself have seen that.

General Discusses Events in Pljevlja

92BA1390B Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Aug 92 p 47

[Article including discussion with Major General Radomir Damjanovic, deputy commander of the 2d Army, by Miroslav Vukosavljevic; place and date not given: "The Army Has Contributed to Preservation of the Peace"]

[Text] However, judging by what happened in the town on the Cehotina after that visit, especially on 7 and 8 August of this year, and the fact that because of those tumultuous events Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidency of Montenegro, has himself visited that town for the second time in the recent past, it is quite certain that the citizens of Pljevlja have not managed to bring to their senses those people with "short memories and shallow souls."

Protests and Barricades

We talked about everything that has happened in this little town near the meeting of the boundaries of Serbia, Montenegro, and B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], some 20 km from the "boiling Bosnian pot," with Major General Radomir Damjanovic, deputy commander of the 2d Army, who spent those two dramatic days in Pljevlja.

"For several days now, the security-political situation on the territory of Pljevlja Opstina has been extremely unstable, above all because of the greatly disrupted interethnic relations. These past days the situation has been so tense that the danger of an armed conflict with far more serious consequences threatens every moment," Gen. Damjanovic said, and continued:

"The worst was on 7 August. After the tension which had lasted several days in succession, that day personnel of the Pljevlja Security Center brought in for what is called an official interview Milika Dacevic, known as Ceko, otherwise, according to BORBA and POLITIKA, a Chetnik major and president of the SRS [Serbian Radical Party], because he was driving without a license and without registration. After a few hours, several hundred citizens gathered in front of the building of the Security Center, demanding that the police terminate Ceko's interrogation and release him. In that protest gathering, several citizens carried placards with hostile slogans and pejorative messages. During that time, members and sympathizers of that party, just before 1600 hours, set up barricades consisting of vehicles, logs, and stones, and they blocked all approaches to the city. At each barricade, there were five or six armed and partly uniformed [original reads 'half-informed'] people, sloppy and partially in disguise with stockings on their heads, drunk and half-drunk, who behaved indecently and insulted all those who did not bow to their demands. To tell the truth, there were also those who behaved fairly decently and appeared normal, but they were a minority. The main demands of these people were reinstatement of members of the Security Center who had been affected by personnel changes because of poor performance and that all the police reinforcements that had come from Rozaj, Berani, Podgorica, and other towns in Montenegro return to their stations. Aside from those, there were also demands of a political nature, such as the demand that Pejakovic, minister of internal affairs, submit his resignation.

"In those moments, Pljevlja was experiencing a drama. The atmosphere was completely electrified, and there could have been a conflict and bloodshed. However, the conversations with Dacevic were concluded, and the citizens soon dispersed with shots fired from firearms. The barricades were also removed.

"I must say that even before the conversations which Momir Bulatovic had with the city authorities and party leaders, in which I also took part, I had talked to Dacevic. In spite of my effort to persuade him, Ceko did not listen to me. He did not want to remove the barricades. He said that he was not the only one to blame, and that certain other party leaders had been involved in setting up the barricades.

"Later, about 2200 hours, I also talked with certain representatives of the citizens, and then again with Ceko, with Dr. Dusko Kornjaca, defense minister of the SAO [Serbian Autonomous Oblast] Hercegovina, who, incidentally, came with 100 of his fighting men to 'help their brothers,' representatives of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and state security. At some points, the discussion was very bitter and it lasted a long time. Only sometime around 0200 hours did I manage to convince them. About 0230, they began to remove the barricades.

"When all is said and done, I must say that I feel sorry for the citizens of Pljevlja, for the majority of honest people who, I am certain, did not want all this, but came under the influence of certain party leaders and extreme nationalists in their own ranks.

"I think that one of the main motives in the disorders is actually the struggle for power. I am afraid that extremist individuals are trying in that struggle to achieve ethnic cleansing of the town. There are many facts indicating that, especially the demolition of structures and stores whose owners are citizens of Muslim nationality. Competition from private operators is also involved. This assertion is backed up by the fact that the organizers of the disorders included many reputable citizens who are owners of restaurants, cafes, and private firms."

Peace and Order Prevail on the Border

"I think that the organizers of the disorders and their followers nevertheless managed to divide the public and bodies of government, especially the Pljevlja MUP. What they wanted was to impose themselves by force as a serious rival in the upcoming election. I hope they will not realize that desire, above all because they have chosen the wrong strategy and method, and because, I am certain of this, this does not come close to the interest of the people who live in this region. What is more, these events do not benefit anyone except their organizers. More accurately, they suit only those whose objective is to destroy Yugoslavia and to sully its reputation. In these moments, when a battle is breaking out with those who do not like us and are unfairly condemning the new Yugoslavia, an independent, democratic, and modern community of all the nationalities who want to live in it, I think that these scenarios, actions of this kind, are disloyal to the leadership of this country and quite certainly represent a 'knife in the back' of the state itself and its official policy.

"I want to emphasize that members of the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ] did not make a single wrong move, nor did they have a negative influence. On the contrary, in professionally carrying out the orders of the Supreme Command, members of the VJ made the greatest contribution to the victory and persistence of peace in this region.

"Members of the VJ occupied border sentry posts and the border, which extends about 140 km in Pljevlja Opstina. In keeping with the situation that arose, we consistently acted to carry out all the measures that were ordered. Together with members of the MUP, we have been monitoring the entry and exit of persons and vehicles from B-H. With the forces that are in Pljevlja at the moment, including forces of the Montenegrin MUP, I am certain that crime and unruliness can be prevented, the border secured, and public peace and order preserved in this region. That must be the case, because this is the desire and the real interest of the immense majority of the citizens of Pljevlja Opstina," Gen. Damjanovic concluded.

We might say in conclusion that the last two days and two nights in succession have passed peacefully and without incident.

The days to come will show whether this is a sign and a kind of confirmation that the "people with short memories and shallow souls" have finally come to their senses or whether this is just an appearance, a brief peace, before new disorders with new scenarios from the same originators.

Still, the only thing that is certain is that members of the Army of Yugoslavia, along with a majority of ordinary, reasonable, and well-intentioned citizens, want peace, complete and undivided, equal for all citizens of this part of Montenegro and Yugoslavia.